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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

Discoveries and Travels

IN AFRICA,

BY THE LATE JOHN LEYDEN, M.D.

ENLARGED,

AND COMPLETED TO THE PRESENT TIME,

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ITS GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY, AS WELL AS OF THE MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF ITS INHABITANTS.

By HUGH MURRAY, Esq. F. R. S. E.

VOL. II.

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Jibbel Aqiabe
Longitude East 3 2 from Greenwich
EGYPT.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS

IN

AFRICA.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, K. B.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

WHOSE UNREMITTING EFFORTS

TO PROMOTE THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY

THROUGHOUT THE AFRICAN CONTINENT,

AS WELL AS

THE WORLD IN GENERAL,

ESTABLISH A JUST CLAIM TO

THE GRATITUDE OF HIS COUNTRY,

THIS WORK

IS

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

HUGH MURRAY.

PREFACE.

THE progress of discovery in Africa has long been an object of peculiar interest; nor can it be difficult to trace the sources from which that interest has arisen. This immense Continent contains in its bosom a number of extensive, populous, and even civilized kingdoms, all of them imperfectly known, and of some of which even the names have not yet reached Europeans. Equally remarkable is the obscurity which involves the grandest features of its physical geography. Africa, therefore, is still humbling to that pride of knowledge, which Europe very justly indulges, with regard to the other quarters of the globe. An extraordinary zeal, however, to remove this re-

proach, has been for some time manifested in this country; and seconded and aided as that zeal now is by government, a series of splendid discoveries may be expected to be the result; so that it is more than probable, that, in the course of fifteen or twenty years, Africa will lose its place in the list of unknown regions.

In order, however, that these discoveries may be understood and appreciated by the general reader, some preliminary knowledge seems requisite. It is impossible duly to estimate what one traveller has done without knowing what had been effected by his predecessors in the same tract; the perusal of the one naturally excites curiosity with regard to the other. But the narratives of former travellers are dispersed through a multitude of books, often of difficult access, and loaded with tedious and uninteresting details. A work seemed wanted, which might collect from these various sources whatever was most curious and interesting, and might thence form a connected view of the progress of discovery from the earliest ages.

The writer who first attempted to supply this important desideratum, was Dr Leyden, in the work which forms the basis of the present publication. * To those who have any knowledge of our recent literary history, it cannot be necessary to point out the circumstances which peculiarly qualified Dr Leyden for this task; his depth of research, his force of imagination, and, to use the emphatic expressions of Lord Minto, "his incomparable genius, urging and sus- "taining his invincible powers of mental "labour." † He entered upon it with all

* A Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of Europeans in Northern and Western Africa, at the close of the eighteenth century. 12mo, 442 pages. Edinburgh, 1799.

† "It is impossible," says Lord Minto, in his Address to the College of Fort William, "to exclude from our "minds the painful recollection of a loss sustained by "this College, by the votaries of eastern learning, and, "I will not refrain from adding, by the lovers of genius "and worth, yet more estimable than all other endow- "ments, in the premature and lamented death of Dr "Leyden. It is not required, it would not be fitting, "in this place, to repress entirely the sentiments with

that ardour and enthusiasm which formed prominent features in his character. "Africa," says a biographer who intimately knew him, "had peculiar charms for Leyden. He delighted to read of hosts, "whose arrows intercepted the sunbeams; "of kings, who judged of the number of "their soldiers, by marching them over "the trunk of a cedar; of the royal halls "of Dahomy, built of sculls and cross "bones; all, in short, that presented strange, "wild, and romantic views of what have "been quaintly entitled the ultimities and "summities of human nature, and which "furnished new and unheard of facts in the "history of man, had great fascination for "his ardent imagination." * So completely

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"which this event has filled every bosom, capable of appreciating, and when appreciated, of honouring alive, "and deploring in the grave, an example of excellence "intellectual and moral, so rare and eminent. I must "restrain, however, even the justifiable effusion of public "regret, heightened, as it is, by private sorrow, on this "mournful theme; not for the poverty of the subject, "or the coldness of affection, but for their abundance "and excess."

* Edinburgh Annual Register, 1811.

were his views directed to African discovery, that he actually made overtures to the Association for being employed as one of their missionaries. All the energies of his mind were, therefore, put forth upon this subject; and having taken Raynal for his model, he hoped, with the pride of conscious genius, not to fall much short of his standard. The work, when published, was found to correspond to the efforts of genius and industry, with which it had been composed. It soon obtained a wide circulation, not only in this country, but over the Continent. It was translated into German,* and is enumerated by Eichhorn among the most valuable materials for the African part of his learned work, entitled, "History of the Three last Centuries." M. de la Richarderie also repeatedly notices it with praise in his valuable work, the "Bibliothèque des Voyages."

This work having now become scarce, a new edition has for some time been con-

* Historische und philosophische Skizze der Entdeckungen et Niederlassungen der Europaer in Nord und West Africa, um ende der achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Aus dem Engl. von S. St. Bremen, 8vo, 1802.

templated. Indeed, Dr Leyden himself had actually undertaken one on a more extended scale, embracing the whole continent. A small part was actually written, and is included in these volumes; but his departure for India unfortunately prevented its completion. In the present work, the object has been, not only to include the whole of Africa, but to trace the progress of discovery from the earliest ages. How far this difficult undertaking has been successfully performed, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

It was my original wish to preserve the portion of the narrative composed by Dr Leyden, distinct from the additions made to it. On considering, however, the general enlargement which it was necessary to give to the work, it appeared that such a plan would have broke down entirely its unity and connection. It seemed of more importance to the public to receive a distinctly arranged view of the subject, than to be able to distinguish, at a glance, the contributions of its respective authors. There appeared a necessity, therefore, for

taking down, as it were, the parts of Dr Leyden's performance, and arranging them anew, in the more comprehensive plan which is now adopted.*

In the present arrangement, the two introductory chapters trace the progress of discovery, from the earliest ages to the commencement of maritime enterprise in modern Europe. The First Book then follows the progress of modern discovery in the *interior*, and this subject, being of peculiar interest, occupies the whole of the first volume. Under this head, it has been necessary to include those parts of the coast

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* The following list will enable the reader at once to trace the parts of the work for which he is indebted to Dr Leyden.

Book I. Chap. IV. Travels in the Sahara, I. p. 263—285.
——— V. The African Association, p. 286—327.
——— VI. Park's First Journey, p. 328—396.
———VII. Browne's Journey, p. 397—415.
Book II. Chap. II. Description of Egypt (published for the first time), II. p. 104—196.
——— IV. The Western Coast, p. 255—306.

The rest of the work it has been necessary to supply from other sources.

by which the attempts to penetrate inward have been chiefly made,—as Congo, and the banks of the Senegal and Gambia. The Second Book exhibits the discoveries in the maritime countries, beginning with Abyssinia, the chief native power, and making thence the circuit of Africa. The Third Book is occupied with geographical illustrations and views of the present state of Africa. Under the former head, it is attempted to exhibit, as a branch of the history of science, a view of the progress of inquiry and speculation relative to this continent, from the earliest ages, rather than to indulge in present conjectures, which, a few years, it may be hoped, would render superfluous. In this part of the work I have been fortunate enough to obtain from my friend, Professor Jameson, a general view of the natural history of Africa, the great importance of which cannot fail to be appreciated by every reader.

In the Appendix will be found translations of some scarce and curious passages of the early geographers, relating to central Africa, which, though often referred to, are

rarely accessible to the general reader. A list is annexed of the best works tending to illustrate the geography of this Continent, which, it is hoped, will be found useful to those who wish to make deeper researches into that interesting subject.

The maps accompanying this work have been executed with the greatest care, and from the most recent and authentic materials. The historical maps attached to the third book can be considered only as sketches, without any attempts at minute accuracy. It is hoped, however, that they will be found to contain an accurate expression of the general ideas entertained by geographical inquirers, at these successive periods, of the form and constituent parts of the African Continent.

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BOOK II.

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CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS IN ABYSSINIA.

Prester John.—Covilham.—Alvarez.—Bermudez.—Oviedo. Payz.—Fernandez.—Lobo.—Baratti.—Poncet.—Bruce. —Observations on his Authenticity.—Salt's First Journey. —Second Journey.

THE view given in a former part of the work, of the progress of discovery along the western coast of Africa, has shewn the anxiety by which the Portuguese monarchs were animated to discover the traces of a Christian monarch, reported to be established in some part of the eastern coast. This anxiety was in no degree abated, when the splendid prospect opened, of circumnavigating the southern cape of Africa, and penetrating, by that route, into the Indian ocean. Both Bartholomew

Diaz, and Vasco de Gama, when they set sail on this great expedition, received the strictest injunctions to consider every object of discovery as secondary to that of Prester John. The voyages subsequently undertaken along the eastern coast to Mosambique, Mombaça, and Melinda, had this for their sole object.* Meantime, intelligence was received, by a different channel, of the object so eagerly sought after. In 1499, two Portuguese, Covilham and De Payva, were sent into the Red Sea to collect all the information which could be there obtained. Here they would naturally receive an account of Abyssinia, and of the circumstances from which it appeared, that this, if any, must be the country of Prester John. De Payva remained in the Red Sea, probably with the intention of proceeding thither; while Covilham made a voyage to India and along the eastern coast of Africa. On his return, he learned the death of De Payva, and immediately determined to penetrate himself into Abyssinia. He succeeded, reached Shoa, where the emperor then was, and was received with that favour which novelty usually secures, when not accompanied with any circumstances to awaken dread or suspicion. There was an ancient law of Abyssinia, by which no stranger was permitted to leave the kingdom; and this,

* Di Barros, IV. 1.

though overlooked in many instances, was enforced against Covilham. He was loaded, however, with lands and possessions; and being a greater man in Abyssinia than in his native country, was not, perhaps, very earnest in his solicitations for permission to depart.

Although, however, the court of Abyssinia would not permit Covilham's return to Europe, they felt every inclination to cultivate the king of Portugal's alliance, hoping, from his pious zeal, for aid in their continual wars against the Moors of Adel. The empress Helena, therefore, who governed the country during the minority of her son David, selected a person named Matthew, an Armenian merchant, who, though not the most dignified ambassador, appeared to possess the qualities which best fitted him for such an office. A young Abyssinian nobleman accompanied him, but died on the voyage. Matthew, after long delays, arrived in Portugal in 1513. No one, who considers the unbounded veneration which attached to the idea of Prester John, will be surprised at the delight felt by the king, on receiving this first embassy from so renowned a personage. Every honour was lavished upon Matthew, and an embassy, on a great scale, was soon fitted out to return with him to Abyssinia. At the head of it was placed Edward Galvan, a man of great abilities and experience, who had filled the highest offices in the

kingdom, and was now arrived at the mature age of eighty-six. The embassy was sent with the India fleet, which, under the command of Lopez Suarez, sailed directly for the Red Sea. It touched first at the island of Camaran, where Galvan, who was evidently at too advanced an age for such an expedition, fell a sacrifice to the climate. Here also Suarez loitered through the winter, without any attempt to fulfil the object of his mission. He was succeeded, however, in the spring by Lopez de Sequeira, who sailed direct for Massuah, where he arrived on the 16th April 1620. He there landed the embassy, at the head of which was Rodriguez de Lima, accompanied, among others, by Francisco ALVAREZ, who acted as secretary, and who afterwards wrote a narrative of the incidents and observations which occurred during a residence of six years in Abyssinia.* His work deserves notice, as containing the first detailed narrative of travels in that country, and as he visited the southern provinces of Amhara, Shoa, and Angot, which have not been reached by recent travellers. The embassy was well received by the inhabitants of Massuah, and

* Published originally in Portuguese, Lisbon, 1540. There is a Spanish translation, Antwerp, 1557; an Italian translation in Ramusio, and an English one in Purchas; also a French translation, 1558.

a deputation of friars from a neighbouring monastery, called Bisan, or the Vision, waited upon and welcomed them. They were then informed, that this district was governed by a prince called Barnagasso, (Baharnagash, or Lord of the Sea), who held it under the emperor of Abyssinia; and that he was desirous of an interview with them. They readily consented; but considerable embarrassment arose from a point of etiquette, neither party chusing to make the first movement. It was agreed that they should meet upon the road, and preparations were made by the Portuguese, at a particular point, for commodiously receiving the Barnagasso. That prince, however, on hearing of such preparation, made a full stop, and declared, that, to go thither, would be equivalent to waiting on the Portuguese. The latter, willing to accommodate the "Lord of the Sea," caused the preparations to be carried forward almost to the point where he then was; but his highness insisted, that the principle was still the same, and that he would not stir a foot beyond his actual position. The interview seemed to be broken up, till, after long discussion, it was determined, that the two parties, having come within sight of each other, should take their departure at the very same instant of time. A meeting was thus at last effected, without any circumstance derogatory to their respective dignities; and the prince then swore upon a silver cross,

that he would aid and favour the Portuguese to the utmost of his power. He was attended by two hundred footmen, with two hundred persons mounted on horses or mules. So favourable a reception encouraged them immediately to set out for the court of *Preste Janni*, (Prester John), for such is the appellation which Alvarez still gives to the Abyssinian monarch. They were attended and guided by Matthew, the ambassador sent by that prince.

The embassy began to pass that range of high mountains which bars on this side the approach to Abyssinia. The roads are described as "high and "rugged;" and the wet season having commenced, they were often interrupted by storms of rain and thunder, so terrible as obliged them to seek the shelter of the rocks. Formidable torrents were then seen pouring down the mountains; but as soon as these reached the plain, they were soaked and dried up; nor could our travellers learn, that any part of their waters entered the Red Sea. However, they soon entered upon a scene of much deeper horrors. Here the woods were so gloomy and terrible, "that spirits would "have been afraid to pass them." The mules refused to bear a rider, "and the camels yelled "as if they had been possessed with devils." Wild beasts walked about, without shewing the least discomposure at the sight of the travellers, and ap-

peared the undisputed possessors of this gloomy region. At length they arrived, half dead, at the monastery of St Michael, situated at the top of a very steep mountain. After some stay here, they proceeded to Barua, (Dobarwa), the capital of Barnagasso, and where he then resided. They reached it through a country of the same description as that they had before travelled, though, the rains having ceased, the streams, which were then great and terrible, were now entirely dried up. On their banks they saw fine and handsome trees, of which they knew not the name. Apes also appeared in squadrons of two or three hundred, as large as sheep, and hairy like lions; commonly where there was some large cavity in the mountains. Having arrived at Dobarwa, they immediately made their way to the palace, never doubting that they would be immediately admitted to an audience; but they were stopped by the intelligence, that the prince was asleep, and while that lasted, they could by no means enter. Meantime they were allowed no other accommodation than a house usually appropriated to goats, and so small, that they were unable to stand upright; while there was nothing to rest upon besides ox hides, with the hair still on them. After tedious expectation, they were sent for, but were again long detained under the burning heat of the sun, before they could obtain admis-

sion. They found the prince in a room on the ground-floor, his residence containing no other. He did not receive them very graciously. Though he complained of sore eyes, he rejected their proffered medical aid, and told them, that he could give them no mules, though he would allow them to buy for themselves. On coming out, they were offered a repast of half kneaded barley and a horn of mead, but chose rather to abstain, than to accept of such food. The prince's mother, however, moved by a hospitable impulse, sent after them a supply of more savoury victuals.

The country for a great distance around Dobarwa is very fertile, abounding in cattle, and crowded with villages. The town itself is agreeably situated upon a rock. Alvarez was particularly struck with the number of females by whom it was peopled, but whose deportment does not seem to have been very exemplary. This is accounted for by the great number of persons who came thither to pay court to the Barnagasso, and who, instead of bringing their own wives or concubines, chose rather to use such as were already resident. Polygamy here is forbidden by the church, but permitted by the king and the law, and thus liable to no penalty except excommunication. A great market is held at Dobarwa, where, as elsewhere in Abyssinia, every transaction is carried on by barter. If a goat is to be exchanged for an ass,

or an ass for a cow, the difference of value is made up in corn or salt. Hens and capons form the small coin in this traffic. Priests, friars, and nuns, are the principal dealers.

After a short stay at Dobarwa, the travellers set out in the middle of June, a period which only their extreme ignorance could have chosen. It is in this country "the fury of winter," every day being marked by tempests of rain and thunder. They found in their route a still more terrible plague, common to almost all Africa, that of locusts. These devouring insects reduce the country to a more completely ruined state, than if it were consumed by fire. If general, they would entirely depopulate Abyssinia; but, fortunately, their ravages are usually confined to one province in one year. The people, when they see them, "become as dead "men," and cry out, "We are undone, for the "locusts come." The embassy met numbers of men and women going to other countries in search of food, which they could no longer find in their native district. The Romish priests, however, undertook to deliver the country from this plague. They collected a number of the locusts, and made a solemn adjuration, that, within three hours, they should depart for the sea, the mountains, or the land of the *Moors*, and should let Christians alone. The locusts present were then dismissed, to carry this admonition to their brethren. Accordingly,

as soon as the intelligence could be conveyed, the whole body, it is asserted, put themselves in motion, some flying *before*, and some *after* the missionaries. A violent thunder storm, which soon after arose, was doubtless more efficacious, and the dead locusts were soon after seen piled up in heaps along the banks of the rivers.

The party, in a short time, arrived at Caxumo, (Axum.) They describe particularly its antiquity, its church, obelisk, and other ruins. Nothing of consequence thence occurs, till they arrived at the kingdom of Angot. This region is described as extremely fertile, being watered by streams almost innumerable, which maintain perpetual verdure. Seed-time and harvest continue together without intermission during the whole year. The people, however, are harassed by the vicinity of the Dobas, a Moorish tribe, who hold it unlawful for any man to marry till he has put twelve Christians to death. The travellers were here astonished by seeing churches, often of great extent, cut out of the solid rock. In one of them, called St Saviour, the body of the church is 200 palms long, and 120 broad, with five aisles, an extensive open circuit and entrance, all excavated in this manner. Alvarez thinks it necessary here to say: "I take God to "witness, in whose hands I am, that all which I "have written is most true." He adds, "that "he went to see them twice, so great was his de-

"sire to make their excellency known to the "world."

The embassy proceeded now to the residence of Angoteraz, the viceroy of Angot. At a little distance, they met a large assemblage of people coming, as they supposed, to welcome them, and carry their goods; but were soon undeceived by a shower of stones thrown, some by slings, and some by the hand, so that "it seemed to rain stones." The motive of this uncourteous salutation does not precisely appear; for, on reaching Angoteraz, they were received in a very gracious manner. He was sitting with his wife, two other ladies, and several friends, with four jars of excellent mead standing before them. Of these the travellers were invited to partake, the ladies being particularly urgent. Our traveller had afterwards a long conversation with Angoteraz on religious mysteries, with which the chief seemed particularly pleased. He was thus induced to invite the party to a feast. Here mats were laid down for the company to sit on; sheep skins were then spread on the ground, above which was placed a board of white polished wood, without any cloth. Water was brought to wash their hands, but no towel to dry them. Cakes were then served up of wheat, barley, millet, and *taffo*, (teff.) Next came the *Imbandigioni*, of which Alvarez dares scarcely speak, consisting of "pieces "of raw flesh with warm blood," a dish reckoned

so exquisite as to be solely reserved for the leading men in the country. They were devoured accordingly with delight by Angoteraz, and liberally offered to the guests, who, however, would on no account taste them, but adhered to their European cookery. The wine also "walked about with great "fury," and, in this part of the entertainment, the lady of the house took a most active share, though she was concealed from view behind a curtain.

After this entertainment, the embassy set out immediately for the court of the emperor. In their way, they passed the celebrated mountain, on which the younger sons of the royal family are confined. It is described as of vast compass; so lofty and steep as to resemble a wall, with the sky resting on it. The party approaching too near, were advertised of their error by a shower of stones, which induced a precipitate retreat. They were assured that any one who should attempt to ascend would have his hands and feet cut off, and his eyes put out. The mountain is said to be of such vast compass, that fifteen days are required to perform the circuit of it. On its summit are other mountains with valleys, rivers, and streams. There is particularly one valley closely guarded by natural barriers, in which the blood royal are confined. Several attempts had been made by those confined to escape, but they had always proved unsuccessful.

After passing through part of Amhara and Shoa, the embassy arrived at the camp of the emperor, who is still called *Prete Janni*. The tents and pavilions, seen from a distance, appeared to be infinite in number, and to cover all the fields. On arriving, they were met by the Adrugaz, or master of the household, who conducted them to a goodly tent, and supplied liberally all their wants. On the 28th October, about three o'clock, they were told that the Prete had called for them. They were ushered by a gate, within which they beheld an infinite number of pavilions and tents, like a great city. The tents immediately attached to the Prete were in a field by themselves, and were all white; but the emperor's tent of state, set up only on great occasions, was red, and before it were two rows of arches, covered with silk cloth. A vast multitude, which appeared to our author to exceed 40,000 persons, stood on both sides; the principal people, and those most splendidly drest, near to the arches, the rest at a greater distance. In order to preserve order among this multitude, above a hundred persons carried whips, which they continually lashed in the air, producing a noise which rendered all hearing impossible. As the embassy came within bow-shot of the imperial tent, sixty porters or macers, apparelled in silk, with skins of lions, and chains of gold, came running to meet them. They parted into two bands, and waited upon them at the en-

trance to the arches, where the ambassadors also stopt. Under shadow of these arches were found the Betudete, or grand captain, and a priest called Cabeata, said to be the second person in the kingdom. The Cabeata came immediately from the tent of the Prete, and demanded whence they came. They answered, that they came on an embassy from the Captain General of India, under the king of Portugal. The Cabeata went to the Prete, and returned three times with the very same question, to which the same answer was always returned. At last he invited them to say what it was they wished. The ambassador replied only by a compliment, importing that they kissed his majesty's hand, and felt great satisfaction at being the first Europeans who had visited him. The priest soon returned, saying, that they were welcome, and might go home to their lodging. Nothing was seen of the Prete at this interview.

As the embassay left the palace, a band of thieves carried off a number of valuable articles, while a servant, who attempted to defend them, was wounded in the leg. The ambassadors, inquiring the mode of obtaining redress for this outrage, were assured that these thieves formed a regular part of the court establishment, and that officers were appointed, who levied a proportion of the articles stolen for behoof of his imperial majesty. It was judged prudent, therefore, to abstain from all

complaint upon this head. Soon after, a present arrived of three hundred wheaten loaves, numerous jars of mead, and ten oxen. On the following days similar presents continued to arrive, particularly a calf, dressed whole, in paste, and the belly stuffed with spices and fruits, in a manner which gave extraordinary delight to the palates of the mission. It was hinted, however, that these supplies would cease, unless they delivered to the Prete all the pepper in their possession. They positively denied the possession of any considerable quantity of pepper; but obtained apparently little credit, and a serious coolness from that time arose. However, on the night of the 1st of November, two hours after sunset, the Prete again sent for them. On coming to the first circuit or hedge, they were detained for a "good hour in the cold wind." At length five principal men came and led them in. As soon as they were within hearing, these persons began to call out, one after another, "Sire, those "whom thou hast commanded we bring." In this manner the Portuguese were conducted to the royal bed, which was placed within a large house, constructed of earth, and was supported on pillars of cypress. Before it, on each side, was an even row of eighty torches. The bed was adorned with five curtains of fine silk, one of which was embroidered with gold. The Prete was behind the curtains, and immediately began to hold a conver-

sation with them. He inquired, with evident suspicion, into the motives of their journey, and into the want of some presents which he had been taught to expect. He seemed not at all disposed to admit the authenticity of Matthew's diplomatic character. The Portuguese endeavoured to satisfy him upon these points, and in the course of the conversation, his mind appeared to be much mollified. Next day provisions were sent, and they were assured of a regular supply.

On the 3d his majesty again sent for them, and a conversation was held through the medium of the Cabeata. He asked many questions of a military nature; such as, how many arquebusses they had brought with them?—an object apparently of some jealousy. He asked, also, how the Moors and Turks had learned to make fire-arms and ordnance? whether the Moors were most afraid of the Portuguese, or the Portuguese of them? The ambassador assured him, that faith in their religion rendered them quite superior to all dread of the Moors; an assertion to which the monarch returned somewhat of a sceptical answer.

Soon after there was a long conference, and much discussion concerning the respective tenets of the Romish and Abyssinian churches. The emperor made a firm stand for the marriage of the priesthood, and seems to have seriously puzzled the ambassador, by quoting decrees of councils to

that effect, of which the latter was obliged to confess his total ignorance. The interview, however, passed amicably, and after several similar discussions, the Prete determined to admit them to the high honour of a view of his person. On the evening of the 19th of November, they went to the first gate, where they were detained for a long time, till the night was nearly spent. Then, after many ceremonies, they were brought in view of the first curtains. These being raised, they discovered other curtains richer still; and behind them, thrones covered with splendid tapestry. Behind the thrones were curtains, richer than any of those formerly seen; which being raised, they at length beheld the *Prete Janni* seated on a scaffold, ascended by six steps. He had on his head a crown of gold and silver, with a silver cross in his hand; and wore a rich dress of silk and gold. He was young, not above twenty-three, of low stature, not quite black, but "of the colour of ruddy apples." The letters of the Captain-General of India were then presented; and being translated, were graciously read, though a wish was expressed that they had come from the king of Portugal himself. Points of divinity were then agitated, and the Prete then put the question, Whether, if the Pope should order things contrary to the precepts of the apostles, they would think themselves justified in obeying him? The Portuguese evaded the question; but

his majesty assured them, that, if the Abuna should give any such orders, they would never hesitate to prefer the apostolic authority.

Two days after, when the ambassadors had gone to bed, they were awaked by an order to attend upon the Prete. They were introduced with the usual ceremonies, when, after some conversation, the Prete announced that permission was granted them to leave Abyssinia, and return to Portugal.

Immediately after this interview, the king began a journey, in which he was accompanied by the embassy. They came to a great monastery, called Machan Celacen, or the Trinity, where they had an opportunity of witnessing the most august ceremonies of the Abyssinian religion. The first was baptism, which is here annually administered. It was performed in an artificial lake or pond, made of such a depth, as to take grown persons up to the neck. Each individual descended by steps till only his head appeared above the surface, when an old priest, who was almost frozen to death by standing all night naked in the lake, came and put it thrice under water, which constituted the ceremony. The king, the queen, and the Abuna, had a piece of cloth round the waist; but all the others, both men and women, deemed such a covering superfluous. The next ceremony was the admission by the Abuna into priest's orders. The number on whom this honour was conferred amounted to

two thousand, three hundred, and fifty-six. They were first assembled in a large field, where the Abuna, seated on a mule, called out, that if any man had two wives or more, he was excommunicated if he attempted to become a priest. The candidates were then seated in three long rows; and three priests went from one to another, and examined them—merely as to their capacity of reading. From the vast number present, this investigation was necessarily so short, that several did not read above two words. When the ceremony was over, the Prete sent for Alvarez, and asked his opinion of the manner of conducting it. The secretary stated two objections; first, the vast and "infinite" number of persons thus at once admitted within the pale of the church; next, the total absence of clothing on the part of those newly created priests, there not being even such a portion as the most common decency required. The Prete replied, that as to number, much apology was necessary for its being so small, there being usually not less than five or six thousand on such an occasion. The Abuna, not having been expected at this time, had caused so very thin an attendance. With regard to the deficiency of the habiliments, he allowed, on reflection, that this arrangement was not very decorous, and expressed his intention of amending it in future.

The next ceremony consisted in the ordination of clerks. There was here no examination, as persons

of every age, and even a number of infants, were admitted. Amid these candidates for clerical dignity, there was a continued lamentation, "like the "crying of so many young kids," on account of the mothers being absent, and their being left a whole day without suck. The ceremonies were here various, but the principal consisted in pulling out a tuft of hair from the forehead. The most hazardous part of the operation was the swallowing of the host, which, consisting of coarse dough, could scarcely, though accompanied with a large quantity of water, be got over these tender throats without choking.

Alvarez and his companions soon after set out on their return to Portugal; but the season proving unfavourable, they found it more comfortable to return to court; and having made themselves more agreeable than at first to the young monarch, they remained for several years. On the 28th April 1526, they set sail, accompanied by Zaga Zabo, an Abyssinian, who came as ambassador to Portugal. An account of his embassy, and a treatise on the manners of the Ethiopians, derived from his information, were afterwards published by Damian Goez.

* In 1535, Abuna Marcos, the patriarch of Abyssinia, being at the point of death, the king pre-

* Purchas, III. 9.

vailed upon him to nominate, as his successor, John BERMUDEZ, a Romish priest, then resident in that country. Bermudez accepted it, subject to the approbation of the Pope, which was easily obtained. The secret motive of the honour thus lavished upon Bermudez is not long of appearing. The king, who was hard pressed in war with Zeila, made an anxious application to obtain aid from the Portuguese, with whose military superiority he had become acquainted. Bermudez himself set out for Goa, to second this application by all the powers of his eloquence. The viceroy, Don Stephen de Gama, shewed little disposition to embark in the enterprise, and expressed a doubt, if the hundred thousand crowns which would be necessary to expend on it, would ever be recovered. Bermudez hereupon assured him, that this was a mere trifle compared to the wealth of Prester John, in whose inexhaustible treasury the expenditure of a million would effect no perceptible diminution. This hyperbolical estimate produced an entire revolution in the mind of the governor; he, without delay, fitted out an expedition, and even resolved to command it in person. On arriving at Massuah, however, he placed the military force under the command of his brother Christopher, and returned himself to India. Christopher rendered signal services to the king in his wars with Adel; and though he himself, in an unsuccessful battle, was taken and beheaded, his troops continued to

fight in the same cause. With their aid the king defeated the Moors in successive battles, killed their king, and drove them out of all the provinces which they had conquered from him. When he had thus attained all his own objects, his respect for the Portuguese, and his deference to the see of Rome, began sensibly to abate. As soon as Bermudez perceived this defection, and that the king was returning with his courtiers into submission to the patriarch of Alexandria, he took a high tone, and threatened, if this conduct should be persisted in, instantly to remove, with all the Portuguese troops, out of Abyssinia. The king warned him, that he would by no means permit such a removal; that he would compel the Portuguese to continue their services, and would place them under a general of his own appointment. These dissensions soon broke out into open hostilities, where the superior discipline of the Portuguese gave them the advantage, though they were unable to make any impression on the vast numbers of the Abyssinian army. The king, however, seeing that he could not prevail by open force, resolved to employ stratagem. He sent, therefore, to Bermudez a large present of oxen and sheep, with liberal promises of pay to the men, and of celebrating in person general orders by Christmas next, according to agreement. These tokens of friendship so delighted Bermudez, that he, with the rest of the Portuguese, immediately set out to visit the king in his

camp. They were received with every demonstration of respect and joy; but, in a few hours after, orders were issued to the respective chiefs to take their departure for different parts of Abyssinia; the king being resolved to practise the maxim, *Divide et impera.* Bermudez, however, was sent into quite an honourable exile, and was appointed nominal governor of the province of the Gaffates (Efat), situated in the southern extremity of Abyssinia. Thither, accordingly, the patriarch was immediately conveyed, the chiefs of that country being instructed to shew him every respect, and to pay all the rents of the province into his hands; but on no account to allow him to depart. What chiefly concerns us is, that, in this unwelcome dignity, Bermudez obtained some information respecting these remote regions, which have not been visited by any other Europeans.

The country of the Gaffates is described as enclosed within high and craggy mountains, after passing which, they went down into a valley, so deep, that it appeared to the Patriarch like descending into hell. This valley proved, however, to be a great and rich country, abounding in fertile fields, and producing much gold. There is a manufacture also of fine cotton cloths. The people are described as "barbarous and evil." They were represented by many as Jews; but it appears that they were Gentiles, and were thus viewed in

the same strange and odious light throughout Abyssinia, that Jews are among Europeans.

Our author, in this administration, does not appear to have borne his faculties very meekly. He mentions, as a specimen, that one of the Abyssinian captains having displeased him, he caused him to be seized, tied hand and foot, and buffeted; then making some discharges of musquetry over his head, the Portuguese amused themselves with the paroxysms of terror into which he was thrown. This entertainment being found agreeable, they betook themselves to firing a number of pieces at random among the multitude, who fled with all the terror and precipitation that could be wished; but, *by mischance*, two of them were shot dead. These amusements of the patriarch do not seem to have been approved by the Abyssinian monarch; as, soon after, we find him ordering Bermudez to be exposed on the top of a precipitous mountain, from which, however, he was rescued by the bravery of his countrymen. A sort of compromise then took place; Bermudez, though stripped of all power, was allowed an ample portion of lands for his subsistence, and to remain patriarch of the Portuguese, while another held that office in regard to the Abyssinians.

Bermudez spent also some time in the provinces of Bali and Doaro, (Dawaro,) bordering on Zeila, though he does not give any particular description

of them. To the south-west lay a Christian kingdom, called Oggi, the sovereign of which is tributary to Abyssinia, and received them kindly. This prince had a force of 5000 cavalry, 600 of whom rode on steeds harnessed with elk skins, the rest on the bare horse. Beyond them were the Goragues, a people entirely heathen, and among whom all affairs were transacted by divination from the entrails of beasts. The king's tribute is paid chiefly in gold; they pay two lions, three whelps, and some hens and chickens, composed of that metal. The people reported that white men came to trade with them, but they knew not who, or from whence.

Bermudez mentions Damut, Gojam, and the head of the Nile; but his account differs in no material degree from that of other travellers. Beyond Damut, however, he describes a territory called *Couche*. The king was called Axgagee, or Lord of Riches, a title justified by the profusion of gold to be found in his country. He paid allegiance to the king of Abyssinia, but on the condition of never entering his territory without his consent. This country is separated from Abyssinia by a broad river, over which he would never allow a bridge to be built, lest it should cease to be a barrier of his dominions. His army consisted of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, for the use of whom he carried constantly in the camp a

thousand hand-mills, for grinding flour, worked by women. Being on good terms with the king of Abyssinia, he did him, along with Bermudez, the singular favour of shewing them a part of his territory. He appears, however, to have given a very exaggerated description of its wealth. He asserted, that the soil consisted generally of two parts of gold, and one of earth; and, pointing to a lofty mountain, which had a glittering appearance, he assured them that all *that* was gold.

Bermudez now returned by Gojam and Dembea to Dobarwa, and soon after left Abyssinia.

Although no fruit was thus drawn from the labours of Bermudez, yet the Portuguese monarch was not disposed to remit his efforts for the conversion of Ethiopia. An Abyssinian priest, called Peter, having repaired to Rome, asserted, that the failure of Bermudez had arisen entirely from his own absurd and brutal conduct, and that if a man of sense and capacity were sent out, he would soon effect the conversion of Abyssinia. It seems to have been imagined, though probably on very slender grounds, that this person had some authority from the emperor to request such a mission. The Pope, and the king of Portugal, determined not to reject this supposed opportunity. Nugnez Barreto was invested with the dignity of patriarch, and sent to exercise that office in Abyssinia. He

went as usual by the way of Goa; but learning that the navigation of the Red Sea was rendered very dangerous by the Turkish fleets, he deemed it inexpedient to hazard his own valuable person, and sent forward a secondary character called Oviedo, with some priests of inferior rank. Oviedo arrived in perfect safety at Arkecko, whence he proceeded to Dobarwa, and was heartily welcomed by his countrymen there resident. He then set out for the court, but was long detained on the road by the multitude of his countrymen, who crowded to him for the purpose of confession. At length he arrived at the *array* of the emperor Claudius; where he met with the most friendly reception. A body of the most distinguished courtiers soon waited on him, announcing the emperor's wish to grant him an audience. He was received accordingly with great pomp and courtesy, and though, on the reading of the letter, which announced the object of the embassy, the emperor's countenance suffered some change, he soon recovered perfect composure. The missionary, however, having obtained a private audience, represented to him the enormous errors under which he laboured, and called upon him to consider the obligation under which he and his kingdom lay, to pay their whole spiritual obedience to the successor of St Peter. The king replied, that he was exceedingly well inclined to the Portuguese; that he would grant

them lands and settlements to the utmost extent of their wishes; that they were at perfect liberty to exercise and teach their religion; but as to compelling his subjects to embrace the Romish faith, that it would cause a great disturbance; that they had been always accustomed to pay their submission to the patriarch of Alexandria; that they were quiet and content with their Abuna; and that such a change would require at least serious consultation with his friends and principal officers.—Oviedo, though highly indignant at this *perfidy*, as he terms it, yet, as some faint hope was still held out, resolved to temporize. He wrote a long letter, however, pointing out to the king the enormous crime which he committed, in paying the smallest regard, upon such a question, to the opinion of any friends or counsellors, however intimate. No result being drawn from this letter, Oviedo next proposed, that a conference should be held in presence of his majesty, between himself and some of the Abyssinian doctors; which was readily agreed to. The missionary being favoured by supernatural aid, victoriously refuted, in his opinion, all the arguments urged by those personages. Unfortunately, their impression was quite opposite, and they loudly exclaimed, that they had gained a complete victory over him. The king also stated, as the general impression produced in his mind by the conference, that he and

his people lay under no obligation whatever to pay obedience to the church of Rome. Oviedo seeing thus, that by persuasion he could entertain no hope of making a single convert among prince or people, determined, as he states, to employ *force*. How he could hope, in the circumstances under which he stood, to wield such an instrument with success, seems somewhat incomprehensible. However, on the 2d of February 1559, he issued a rescript, a copy of which is given by Tellez. It begins by announcing that the whole nation of Abyssinia, high and low, learned and unlearned, had refused to obey the church of Rome, which they were bound to obey; that they practised circumcision; that they used baptism oftener than once; that they scrupled to eat the flesh of the hog and the hare; and that they deemed it unlawful to go to church for a certain time after having had communication with their wives. In consideration of these enormities, he delivers them over to the judgment of the church, to be punished *in person and goods, in public and private*, by every means which the faithful could devise; unless in cases where the rules of the church would allow mercy to be extended to them.—What steps the missionaries took to enforce this curious rescript, is not recorded. It only appears that, very soon after, a most furious persecution arose, from which they very narrowly escaped with their lives. Unfortu-

nately, about this time, the emperor Claudius died; whom, unless in the perfidy above mentioned, they admit to have been their steady friend, and a most accomplished prince. He was succeeded by his son Manes, who assumed the name of Adamas Segued, which he conceived honourable, from the illustrious ancestors by whom it had been borne. He little suspected that he was thus delineating the darkest features in his own character. *Adamas*, signifying adamant, expressed his cruelty and hardness of heart; while *Segued*, being easily convertible into the Portuguese *cego* (blind) aptly illustrated his utter insensibility to the mysteries of the Catholic faith. Every action of his future life confirmed the missionaries in the soundness of this interpretation. His first step was to recal the permission which had been granted to the natives of Abyssinia, even those the most intimately connected with the Portuguese, to profess the Romish religion. He next sent for Oviedo, and, in the course of conversation, burst into so violent a rage, that he drew his sword and ran towards the missionary, with the avowed intention of cutting off his head. The sword miraculously dropped from his hand; but he assured the father, that unless a total change took place in his course of conduct, his life would soon be the forfeit. Oviedo was soon after banished to a remote and desolate mountain, where, it is said, he must have perished, but

for the charity of a benevolent lady. During the whole reign of Adamas, the persecution against him never experienced any remission. The Pope, moved by the doleful accounts which he continually transmitted of his sufferings, wrote, proposing that he should leave Abyssinia, and undertake some less turbulent mission. Oviedo declined this offer; but solicited without intermission 1500 Portuguese troops, with which he undertook to convert not only Abyssinia, but all the neighbouring kingdoms. But though the king of Portugal shewed some disposition to adopt this suggestion, his zeal was never sufficiently ardent to carry it finally into effect. Oviedo died at Fremona in 1577.

The next person who took a lead in the affairs of the Portuguese in Ethiopia was Pero Payz, who, along with Antonio de Montserrat, set out from Goa in February 1589. In passing through the Red Sea, he was taken captive by the Turks, and detained in captivity seven years. At the end of that time he was ransomed, and proceeded into Abyssinia. After being well received by his countrymen at Fremona, he went forward to visit the emperor. Payz appears to have been a man superior in every respect to his predecessors in the same situation. Instead of endeavouring to carry every thing by main force, and overbearing insolence, he

sought to ingratiate himself with the emperor; and his extensive information and address supplied him with many means of recommending himself. Among others which he employed during his residence, it is mentioned, that he superintended the construction of a house built after the European fashion; an object astonishing to the eyes of those who had never seen houses but of one story, the walls built chiefly of clay, and roofed with grass or straw. Payz found, that nothing would conduce so much to his credit as such an erection, both by the admiration which it would excite, and by removing that spirit of unbelief which the pompous descriptions given of European architecture had excited. The task, however, was extremely arduous, as the Father had first to instruct the natives in the formation of pickaxes, hammers, chisels, and all the instruments of masonry; then to initiate them in the use of these, in cutting, shaping, and hewing the stones; and, when the walls were built, to give similar instructions in all the departments of carpentry, in order that the interior might be properly finished. The whole, when completed, might, it is said, have formed a very tolerable country house for an European monarch. In Abyssinia, it was considered as one of the wonders of the world, and persons from the remotest parts of the empire flocked to view it. The raising, in parti-

cular, of one story above another, was considered by the whole nation as little short of a miracle.

A missionary possessed of the abilities and information of Payz, could not be long of gaining an ascendancy over a rude and illiterate monarch. By address and persuasion, he effected, in a few days, what the threats and violence of his predecessors had vainly attempted during a series of years. The king not only professed himself a convert to the Romish faith, but made it the established religion of his dominions, which it continued to be for a long series of years. It is to be regretted, that we do not possess the journal of a missionary so much superior in intelligence to any of those who either went before, or succeeded him. His manuscripts are said to have been widely circulated among the Jesuits, so that they are probably still in existence, though they have never been published. Some of his observations only are recorded by Tellez, to whom they were transmitted by Almeyda.

Payz found the emperor at Ondegere, on the banks of his "celebrated and native Nile," near the place where it falls into the lake of Dembea. Here he held his *arrayal* or camp, in which consisted all the court of Ethiopia, and all that could be reckoned a capital. It was enclosed within two large circles, formed by a stone wall, and a lofty hedge; and within were a number of houses, built partly of stone, and partly of clay, with roofs of straw.

Herein, says the writer, "consist all the majestic "palaces, the regal halls, the superb structures, the "columns of porphyry, the Corinthian domes "which were feigned to exist in this Ethiopia, "whose proudest edifice more resembled the hum- "ble abode in which Evander received the Trojan "Chief." He admits, however, that the Abyssinian monarchs may be excused for not building what, from the continual state of movement in which they are kept, it would be impossible for them to enjoy.

Payz, during his residence, was invited to dine at the imperial table, of which he has left a description much more detailed than any that has appeared prior to Bruce.

The ceremony began by the pages placing in the antichamber two tables, a smaller one for the emperor, and a larger for the fathers. Between these tables a curtain was drawn, as it was deemed an inviolable custom in Ethiopia, that no one, except the pages in attendance, should see the emperor eat. Ten women then entered, bearing several large baskets, with coverings of straw or junk, resembling hats with very broad brims, so as to spread over the sides of the baskets. Within these baskets were twenty, thirty, or more, very broad and thin cakes of wheat or teff. After these came other women bearing earthen porringers with soups of various kinds. The table consisted of a round

plank of five or six palms in diameter, which was laid on the floor above the carpets. On this were placed the cakes, so as wholly to cover the whole, and supply the place of table-cloths. Herein, says the writer, consists all the apparatus, and regal pomp of the table of the emperor of Ethiopia; at which there is neither plate, nor knife, nor fork, nor spoon, nor vinegar-cruet, salt-celler, pepper-box, nor dish for holding sugar, nor indeed any other article than has now been named. And it is worthy of remark, that the cakes, after having served the purpose both of table-cloth and plates, serve next as food; so that the accident which once happened to the Trojans in Italy, of eating their own tables, was nothing more than is every day seen in Ethiopia.

Now, however, arrived the favourite dish, raw flesh, which was placed upon the cakes. Then his imperial majesty drew out a species of hanger, which he carried with him, and began to cut the flesh into pieces. The pages took these pieces, and, having crumbled down a portion of the cakes, formed the whole into mouthfuls so enormous, that it appeared quite impossible the mouth should contain them. They not only thrust them in, however, but continued to stuff them one after another without intermission, as if they had been stuffing a goose for a feast. During this time no mention was made of wine. The Abyssinians neither drink nor speak in the time of meals; but as soon

as the table is removed, the cups are introduced, and a gay conversation begins, which is continued till they are thoroughly emptied. The Abyssinians then rose, and went off abruptly, without noticing their guests or inviting them to remain. Our missionary was not much edified at this last part of his treatment. He rose and departed; but judged it advisable rather to shew himself grateful for the honour of being admitted to the emperor's table, than dissatisfied with any want of courtesy which might appear at the close of the festival.

Another interesting fragment of Payz, preserved by Kircher, relates to his examination of the sources of the river, which he, in common with the rest of the Portuguese and Abyssinians, supposed to be the principal head of the Nile. As there seems every reason to believe, that he was the first, and probably, Bruce excepted, the only European visitor of these "coy fountains," it may not be amiss to give in full the passage where he describes them.

"The source of the Nile is situated in the elevated part of a valley, which resembles a large plain, surrounded on every side with ridges of hills. While I resided in this kingdom with the emperor and his army, I ascended this place on the 21st April 1618, and took a diligent survey of every part of it. I saw two round fountains, both about four palms in diameter. Great was my pleasure in beholding what Cyrus, king of the Persians,

Cambyses, Alexander the Great, and the renowned Julius Cæsar, sought eagerly, but in vain, to reach. The water is very clear, light, and agreeable to the taste; yet these two fountains have no outlet in the higher part of the mountain plain, but only at the foot. In trying their depth, we thrust into the first a lance, which, going down eleven palms, seemed then, as it were, to strike against the roots of the neighbouring trees, entangled together. The second fountain is about a stone's cast east from the first; to ascertain the depth of which we put down a lance of twelve palms, but found no bottom; then, by joining two lances together, we made a depth of twenty palms, but still found none. The inhabitants say that the whole mountain is full of water, which they prove by this, that all the plain about the fountain is tremulous and bubbling,—a sure proof of water beneath; and that, for the same cause, the water does not run over the sources, but throws itself out with greater force lower down. The inhabitants, and the emperor himself, affirmed, that, though the ground had trembled little this year, on account of the great dryness, yet that, in common seasons, it shook and bubbled to such a degree as scarcely to be approached without danger. About a league west from the source is a village, called Guix, (Geesh), inhabited by heathens, who sacrifice many cows. They come to the source on a certain day

of the year, with a sacrificer, whom they account a priest, who sacrifices a cow at the fountain; and, having cut off the head, throws it into the abyss with a variety of ceremonies, which make him pass for a great saint among these people."

Payz then relates the early course of the Nile, —the tributaries which it receives,—its crossing the Dembea, with a visible separation of waters,— the tremendous cataract of Alata,—and then the semicircular course round Begemder, Shoa, Amhara, and Damot, till it approaches within a day's journey of its sources. The regions which it next watered were barbarous and almost unknown, so that by an Abyssinian prince, who had lately marched an army into them, they were called the "New "World." Passing then "through innumerable re- "gions, and over stupendous precipices," it enters Egypt.

Amid the prosperous state into which Payz had brought the Portuguese affairs in Abyssinia, considerable difficulty occurred in communicating with the government in Europe. The province of Tigre, by which alone they could reach Massuah, was in a state of rebellion; and, supposing that danger surmounted, the Red Sea was entirely in possession of the Turks,—the deadly enemies of the Christian name. There seemed no hope, therefore, of the object being accomplished, unless by

penetrating along the southern frontier of Abyssinia, to the Indian ocean, and thence proceeding to Goa. This route, however, being also attended with the most imminent dangers and difficulties, it was determined to choose by lot the person who was to undertake it. The lot fell upon Antonio Fernandez, a person of sufficient vigour and enterprise, who chose for his companion an Abyssinian convert, called Fecur Egzie. They began by crossing the Nile, at a point where there was neither bridge nor boat, but merely a loose and ill-constructed raft. They came then into the country of the Gongas, and of the people of Bizamo, called here Caffres. These people, heathen, and almost savages, were under a species of subjection to Abyssinia; yet it was only by the combined application of threats and presents that a passage could be effected through their territory. They passed the Maleg after some difficulty in finding the ford, and arrived soon in the territory of Narea. This kingdom consists of a large plain, surrounded by mountains. It is fertile, abounding in corn and cattle; and gold, though not produced in the country itself, is brought abundantly from the south and west. This appears to be the highest land in this part of Africa; as the rivers here separate, flowing some to the north, and falling into the Nile, while others, of which the principal is the Zebee, flow southwards to the Indian Ocean. The

Benero (such is the title assumed by the sovereign of Narea) being subject to Abyssinia, the travellers were received with every species of outward courtesy; but that prince is believed to have viewed their mission with great jealousy. He understood it to be sent with the view of bringing Portuguese troops into Abyssinia, the consequence of which might be, that the whole country might be subjected to foreigners, and compelled to embrace the Catholic religion. He called therefore a council of his nobles, to contrive, if possible, some method of arresting their progress, without giving offence to the court of Abyssinia. After much deliberation, it was determined, that, instead of pointing out the proper road to the sea coast, they should be directed to one so remote and circuitous, as to make it next to impossible that they should ever reach their destination. With this view, they were advised to go by Gingiro and Cambat to Cape Guardafui; and as the ambassador of Gingiro happened to be then at Narea, he undertook to become their guide. Their dangers began immediately. They first entered a country entirely possessed by the Galla, and through which parties of those savages were continually scouring. To avoid them, it was necessary to travel only under night, and to hide themselves during the day in the forests and bushes. In this manner they travelled for four or five days, when, descending a

very steep mountain, they came to the banks of the Zebee, a river which appeared to them to roll a greater mass of waters than the Nile. It was here sunk to a vast depth beneath perpendicular rocks, between which it rolled with prodigious rapidity. To the Portuguese, as they cast their eyes into the abyss, and heard the awful roarings of the flood beneath, it appeared as if they were looking down into the infernal regions. But all their attention was soon drawn to the mode in which this frightful gulf was to be passed. The sole bridge consisted of the trunk of a tree, so long that it reached across from rock to rock. The moment this bridge felt the smallest weight above it, it began immediately to quiver and creak, like a green twig. The travellers started "with horror backward;" but the Galla, a worse fear, urged them behind. At length, after much trepidation, the boldest of the party put his foot on this frail support, and treading lightly, reached the opposite bank. The rest then passed one by one; leaving two to guard the cattle, with instructions, if the Galla should come, to save themselves instantly, and abandon their charge. Those dreadful enemies, however, did not appear, and a ford was afterwards found in a neighbouring valley, over which the cattle were driven. This danger past, they were not long of arriving at the capital of Gingiro. Their arrival was immediately an-

nounced to the king; but that monarch was so deeply employed in operations of witchcraft, which forms here the main engine of state policy, that he could not receive them into his presence for eight days. They were then sent for, and found the king seated on a scaffold, twenty-five palms high, and which was ascended by steps in front. His courtiers stood on foot upon the ground, to whom, says the writer, he issued his orders from this lofty height, like a thundering Jupiter. As soon as the letter of the king of Abyssinia was shewn to him, he came down from the scaffold, received it on foot, and inquired for the health of the emperor, after which he reascended, and conversed for some time through the medium of an interpreter. This interpreter, whenever the king spake, kissed the tips of his fingers, and then stooping, kissed the ground, and when he had received Fernandez's answer, went through the same salutations before delivering it to the king. That prince made many inquiries about the health of the king of Abyssinia; said that the object of the letters was to request him to use them well, and to supply them with whatever they wanted, which he promised to do.

Gingiro is considered by Bruce as the entrance into the dominions of the Devil in Africa; and, in fact, it appears to be the first state, in this quarter, where the system of magic and *feticherie*, so wide-

ly diffused over that continent, begins fully to prevail. The mode of election to the crown is so exceedingly barbarous, that I know not whether to give full credit to it, though it seems confirmed by Bruce. The crown is hereditary in one family; but, among the sons of the deceased, the election is made in the following manner: As soon as the sovereign dies, these princes run out, like wild beasts, to hide themselves in the bushes and thickets. Presently, all the persons attached to the court set forth in chase of their future sovereign. The flight of a bird of prey is the signal by which they are guided to him. The fidelity of the omen is confirmed by the finding him surrounded with lions, panthers, and other wild beasts. He himself, counterfeiting their nature, resists and attacks those who come to raise him to the sovereignty; taking care, however, to allow himself to be overcome in due time. His accession is celebrated by the death of two persons of distinction, with whose blood the threshold of his door is besmeared.

The travellers left Gingiro, and, at the end of the first day's journey, came again to the banks of the terrible Zebee. Here they fell into "new "agonies," for while the stream rolled still with tempestuous rapidity, there was not even a plank which could assist them in crossing. Their conductors, however, lighted upon a contrivance, which Fernandez particularly describes, that, as he says,

the mathematicians and engineers of Europe may see, that they do not enjoy a monopoly of the power of invention, but have rivals among the Gingiros, from whom such refinements could be little expected.

They killed a cow, and formed the hide into a kind of large bladder, into which they put some of their clothes, partly with the view of conveying them over, and partly to serve as ballast. The bladder was then strongly inflated, and to each extremity was attached a piece of wood, like a common walking cane; to each end of which was fastened one of the party, so that four, altogether, were at one time attached to it. The instrument formed a species of balance; it was necessary that the two sides should be made perfectly equal, and, particularly, that the passengers should remain immoveable, and should not stir or bend their body in any direction, otherwise the equipoise was lost, and the machine overturned. An able swimmer, before, performed the office of a prow, and drew the machine on by a rope attached to it, while two behind, acting as a stern, endeavoured to direct its movements. Thus they at length reached the opposite shore, though carried by the impetuosity of the stream far below the point from which they had set out. On landing, they fell on their knees, and returned fervent thanks to heaven for having delivered them out of this *balance*.

Having overcome these formidable natural ob-

stacles, the Portuguese now made their way, with difficulty, through the kingdom of Cambat. They then reached Alaba, a Moorish territory, the governor of which judged them persons who ought to be inquired into. There chanced to be at hand an Abyssinian schismatic, who assured him, that they were on their way to bring from India a body of Portuguese troops, with a view to the total extirpation of the Mahometan faith. He considered himself, therefore, as acting a very lenient part when he spared their lives, and merely gave them instructions to return as they came. The travellers, accordingly, thought themselves too happy in again reaching Abyssinia alive, without any farther attempt to fulfil the object of their mission.*

Jerome Lobo set sail from Lisbon in March, and arrived at Goa on the 16th of December 1622. Soon after his landing, intelligence arrived from Abyssinia of the conversion of Sultan Segued, with many of his subjects, and that a larger supply of missionaries was alone necessary to improve these prosperous beginnings. Eight, therefore, of whom Lobo was one, were chosen for this important mission. Great difference of opinion arose, as to the best mode of penetrating into the interior of that kingdom. Four went by the Red Sea, and after being detained for some time in custody by the

* Tellez Ethiopiaa alta, IV. 2—10.

Turks, reached their destination. Two went by Zeila, where, falling into the hands of the king, a zealous Mahometan, they were first thrown into a dungeon, and afterwards their heads were struck off. Lobo and his companions determined, upon some vague information, to seek a course by the way of Melinda. Such a course could only be suggested by the most erroneous views of African geography. Our author, however, after a voyage of eleven days, landed at Paté, at the mouth of the Quillimanci. At this place he could learn nothing of Abyssinia, but was assured that the country behind was occupied by the *Galles*, the most dreadful savages in nature, who laid waste wherever they went, and were the terror of Africa. This dismal intelligence did not deter him from attempting to explore the country. He set out for Lubo, a large capital, about forty miles distant along the coast, and where he arrived after enormous difficulties and hardships. In the neighbourhood of this place were encamped a large body of Galles, whom our traveller had soon an opportunity of seeing. All the accounts before heard of their savage habits were here confirmed. They expose all the children born when they are in a state of war, though they rear them in a settled state. They eat raw cow's flesh, and wear the entrails round their necks as ornaments. They shewed utter amazement at the view of a white man; and pulled off the shoes and stockings, to ascertain that

the whole was of the same colour. Being enraged by the rash speech of a Portuguese, they brandished their swords, and threatened to kill the whole party; but a seasonable display of the power of fire arms soon reduced them to mildness and submission.

Lobo found it necessary, with a view to his object of inquiring the road to Abyssinia, to wait upon their king. He found that monarch in a straw hut, somewhat larger than those of his subjects. His courtiers surrounded him, all bearing staffs, that were long or short in proportion to their rank. As Lobo entered, these staffs were instantly employed in beating him back to the door; and on his inquiring the motive of such uncourteous usage, he was assured, that this was the invariable mode in which the Galles received a stranger, thereby proving at once their respect for him, and their own prowess. Our traveller then thought fit to take it in good part, though he inwardly grieved that he should have placed himself in the power of men, who testified their hospitality by such tokens. He contrived, however, to draw from them an oath, made in their most sacred manner, by placing their hands over the head of a sheep smeared with butter, that no injury should be done to him. Inquiring then the route to Abyssinia, he was assured that that country lay at an immense distance, and that nine barbarous nations intervened, among

whom his life would not for a moment be in safety. He gave up, therefore, all idea of proceeding in this direction. Before leaving the coast, he was seized with a violent fever, which required bloodletting, and thus afforded him a specimen of Moorish surgery. The operator laid bare his side, to which he fastened three large horns; then drawing out a species of rusty poinard, made successive wounds with it, till a sufficient quantity of blood had flowed. Our traveller recovered from that moment; but whether from the natural effect of the operation, or from the violent agitation of fear into which it threw him, he was unable to determine.

The next attempt was made by the way of Duncali, a small kingdom on the south-east of Abyssinia, not far from the Straits of Babelmandel. Here Lobo was led, in a few days, though by a somewhat difficult track, to the residence of the king, who had been instructed by the Abyssinian monarch to give him a good reception. The missionaries found him in his capital, being a village of six tents and twenty cabins. His residence, which stood at a little distance from the rest, consisted of a single apartment; on one side of which dwelt the monarch, and on the other his horse, which, in this country, is considered as always entitled to the same roof with its master. He professed the most friendly disposition, and assured

them that they might consider this country as their own. When they drew forth their present, however, he scornfully rejected it, as inadequate to his dignity; though, on declaring that it was utterly impossible to give more, he was fain, with a very bad grace, to accept it. From that time they experienced much ill-treatment from the inhabitants; and provisions were even withheld; all which they easily traced to the king's anxiety to extract from them gifts to the utmost possible amount. They judged it necessary, therefore, to make a warm remonstrance, and to threaten making a report of this treatment to the emperor. This produced the desired effect;—they obtained provisions, and were enabled to proceed on their journey. The track lay, for a great distance, through an arid and desolate plain, where Lobo considers it as solely owing to a miraculous interposition that they did not perish, either by thirst or the bites of serpents. An opening in the mountains then brought them to a delightful and refreshing spot, whence they found cooling breezes, clear streams, and forests blooming with perpetual verdure. This, however, proved only the approach to another dreary track through the great plain, whence Abyssinia is supplied with salt. Our author gives a very unsatisfactory account of its formation, as derived from the water flowing down from the mountains, and *congealing* into that mineral. This

route also was very desolate, but he became soon insensible to hardship, "fear having entirely engrossed his mind." It was constantly beset, he understood, by the Galla, with the view of plundering the numerous caravans which carried salt from this plain into the interior of Abyssinia. Accordingly, they were soon frozen with horror, by seeing on the road the dead bodies of a caravan recently massacred. Another troop, they had reason to believe, was in search of themselves, whom they missed by little more than an hour. Happily they escaped all these perils, and arrived safely at Fremona, the principal Catholic monastery in Abyssinia, where every thing was done to make them forget the hardships through which they had passed.

As soon as the missionaries were recruited from their fatigues, they began to enter upon their spiritual functions. They soon arrived at a village situated upon a mountain, from the chief of which the known favour of the emperor secured them a hospitable reception. But scarcely were they seated, when the whole neighbourhood began to echo with shrieks and lamentations, like those of persons involved in the most dreadful calamity. On inquiry, they learned that their arrival was the sole cause of this pitiable affliction. The inhabitants firmly believed, it seems, that they were the emissaries of the devil, and would certainly entrap a few of their countrymen, whose fate they were

thus deploring. They were firmly assured also, that the course of the missionaries was speedily to be followed by clouds of grashoppers (locusts), the scourge of the country, and the sure precursors of famine. There happened this year to be a peculiar inroad of these terrible insects, which led the people easily to credit the report; never reflecting, says Lobo, "that the country was tormented by locusts, before there were Jesuits in Abyssinia, or even in the world." It was also a firm article of belief, that the hosts administered in the sacrament were compounded of juices strained from the blood of the camel, the dog, the hare, and the swine; being the four animals which are held in utter abomination throughout Abyssinia. Every protestation to the contrary was in vain; whenever this symbol of religion appeared, precipitate flight was the consequence. The Jesuits endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with the lady of the village, hoping, through her means, to procure some favour with the people, but in vain; and, indeed, the fair sex seem to have been always their enemies. They paid a visit to some of the neighbouring villages; but their arrival awakened always the same doleful concert; and, as grief turned sometimes into rage, their lives, but for the protection of the governors, might have fallen a sacrifice. They soon therefore judged it most advisable to return to their headquarters at Fremona. Lobo seems to have expected

and wished to have been sent on a mission to court; instead of which he was appointed superintendent of the monasteries in the province of Tigré. This charge was rendered peculiarly painful by the famine which the inroad of the locusts, so unjustly imputed to himself, had occasioned. The monastery was besieged by unhappy persons, whom want had driven from their habitations, and whose meagre forms, and pale aspect, indicated the excess of their misery. The utmost exertions of charity were insufficient to prevent many from perishing with hunger.

About this time, a civil dissension arose, in which the missionaries were very nearly involved. The viceroy of Tigré had married a daughter of the emperor; but that lady, instead of paying any regard to her conjugal duties, abandoned herself to every species of dissoluteness. The viceroy, it seems, "was more nice in that matter, than peo-"ple of rank in this country generally are." It would seem as if the father thought the nicety somewhat superfluous; though he admits, that it requires a considerable degree of *patience* to endure such injuries. "The viceroy's *virtue*," says he, "was not proof against this temptation; he "fell into a deep melancholy," and made bitter complaints to the emperor of the scandalous conduct of his daughter. That monarch, it appears, treated the affair very lightly, which more and

more exasperated the viceroy, till he at length determined to raise the standard of revolt. In this crisis, he applied for the aid of the Abyssinian priests, who readily promised to espouse his cause, provided he would assist them in putting to death all the Romish missionaries. The viceroy, though on a pretty intimate footing with Lobo, listened only to the dictates of policy, and promised every thing to the priests. He used various stratagems and allurements to allure the father into his power; and the latter had even set out to visit him; but learning fully the course which the prince was pursuing, he turned back and regained Fremona. The viceroy now raised openly the standard of rebellion, but was soon after defeated by the imperial army, and put to death.

Lobo was now ordered, by his superiors, into the kingdom of Damot, on the south-western frontier of Abyssinia. On his way he crossed the Nile (Bahr-el-Azrek), about two days' journey from its source. There was neither boat nor bridge, and the multitude of crocodiles and hippopotami rendered it extremely dangerous to swim. The only way of passing is on floats, guided by long poles; and even these are dangerous, as the above mentioned amphibia often cause them to overset. Lobo seems to have felt an extraordinary emotion at the view of this celebrated stream, and to have been highly elated with the idea of being so near

that fountain head, which the greatest monarchs of antiquity had in vain laboured to approach. He thus describes the source, in a manner which would lead us to suppose that he had actually visited it: "This spring, or rather these two springs, are two "holes, each about two feet diameter, a stone's-cast "distant from each other; the one is but about "five feet and a half in depth, at least we could "not get our plummet farther, perhaps because it "was stopped by roots, for the whole place is full "of trees; of the other, which is somewhat less, "with a line of ten feet we could find no bottom, "and were assured by the inhabitants, that none "ever had been found." He describes also a little hill at the top of the mountain, where the high priest annually assembled the idolatrous Agows, and sacrificed a cow, the head of which is thrown into one of the fountains, after which a general sacrifice and festival takes place. The stream is at first so narrow, as to be in danger of being dried up during the hot season; but being swelled by several accessions, it reaches, at three days' journey from its source, to such a breadth, that a musket shot will scarcely reach across. Our author next describes its crossing the lake of Dembea, without mixing its waters; its precipitation down the cataract of Alata, "one of the most beautiful wa-"ter-falls in the world, where he was charmed "with a thousand delightful rainbows;" its vast

semicircular sweep round Gojam and Damot, till it returns within a short day's journey of its spring; and its final course through unknown regions to the west. He was ignorant of its farther course, till it arrived on the plains of Egypt.

The author represents the part of the province of Damot, in which he now resided, as the most charming spot he had ever beheld. The air is healthful and temperate, the mountains shaded with cedars and other trees, which afford refreshment and coolness, without any thing uncouth or savage. They sow and reap at all seasons, the ground is always producing, and the whole country resembles a pleasure-garden. It was not, therefore, without regret, that, after several years residence, he was recalled to Tigré.

The concluding part of Lobo's residence was altogether disastrous. Sultan Segued falling into a state of dotage, great part of the power devolved upon his son, who, though outwardly a Catholic, cherished a secret attachment to the ancient faith. Under shelter of his connivance, the great men of Abyssinia gave full scope to that deadly antipathy, which they had always cherished against the Romish missionaries. Lobo was assured that the viceroy of Tigré had formed a plan to deliver them as prisoners into the hands of the Turks. To avoid this fate, they fled, and put themselves into the hands of a chief who was then in rebellion

against Abyssinia. This person received them at first with all imaginable kindness; but, to their utter consternation, they soon found themselves involved in the fate which they had fled to avoid, and were sold to the basha of Suakem. Their apprehensions, on approaching this destination, were very considerable; as the basha was known to be a rooted enemy to the Catholics, and to have declared, that he would die content, provided he had the satisfaction of killing them all with his own hand. On their arrival, accordingly, he for some time talked of nothing but impaling and flaying alive. On finding, however, that a liberal ransom might be obtained, his views changed, and he directed his rigour solely to the object of extorting the utmost possible sum. A high ransom being accordingly paid, they were at length set at liberty, and sailed for Diu.

Lobo gives a somewhat particular account of the Abyssinian religion. There does not from thence appear much room for such extreme zeal to convert them to the Catholic faith, as they appear merely to carry a little farther some of its superstitions. Their reverence for the Holy Virgin surpasses even that of the Romish church, and it is their pride, that no nation on earth, except themselves, entertains an adequate sense of the dignity of that sacred personage. Their fasts are much stricter, as they include milk and butter, and the country af-

fording no fish, they are reduced to roots and pulse. The country is so full of churches and monasteries, that it is scarcely possible to sing in one without being heard by another. This singing, indeed, is extremely audible, for, besides straining their voices to the highest pitch, they fall to leaping, dancing, and clapping of hands, so that it seems rather a riotous meeting than a religious assembly. The father having reproached them with this tumultuous species of worship, they defended it by quoting the words of the Psalmist, "Clap your hands, all "ye nations."

In regard to the food of the Abyssinians, Lobo entirely confirms their passion for raw flesh. "When "they feast a friend, they kill an ox, and set im- "mediately a quarter of him raw upon the table "(for their most elegant treat is raw meat newly "killed) with pepper and salt; the gall of the ox "serves them for oil and vinegar." By those who wished to entertain well our missionary, this treat was liberally offered to him; and he could not decline it with grace, unless by saying that it was too good for him. Beer and mead are their favourite liquors, and are used to excess; "nor can there "be a greater offence against good manners, than "to let the guests go away sober." The common people are very poorly apparelled; but the rich use splendid dresses. They love bright and glaring colours, and wear commonly silks covered with gold and silver embroidery.

In 1673, there was published in London, by the printer to the Royal Society, a "Short Re- "lation of the river Nile, by an eye witness, "translated out of the Portuguese by Sir Peter "Wyche." This has been generally supposed to be an extract from Lobo's manuscript, and bears some marks of it; but it differs from the account found in his travels. In this relation, the two springs are compared to two eyes, and said to be each about the size of a coach wheel. They "rise "in a little field covered with green and thick "wood. Travellers, and especially horsemen, are "easily convinced, that this ground stands in the "water, from its trembling and hollow sound. "This field is lost in a lake, where 'tis under water. "This plain is on the top of a high mountain, over- "looking many spacious valleys, and from this "height insensibly descends. From the middle of "this descent is seen, near a trench entangled with "shrubs, the bigger of these springs, whose bottom "is not to be reached with a lance of five and "twenty palms, which, by the way, meets with "(as is guessed) the roots of the neighbouring "shrubs, so hindering further passage; the other "spring is to be fathomed at sixteen palms." At little more than two days' journey from its head, the Nile is said to become so deep, that vessels may sail in it. Immediately after it is so contracted between rocks that it may be stepped over. After

treating at length of the grandeur and importance of the Nile, he concludes: "This secret, with di- "vers others of many parts of the world, and their "discovery, was reserved for the indefatigable in- "dustry of the Portuguese, who have seen with "their eyes, what many have desired, but could "not obtain."

In 1655, an Italian gentleman, Sig. Giacomo Baratti, undertook a journey to the east, and arrived at Cairo. He met here with the Abuna, who was about to depart, in order to exercise his ecclesiastical functions in Abyssinia. The advantage of travelling with a person of such distinction, appeared to Baratti a sufficient motive to give this direction to his wandering inclinations. They set out for Suez, intending to sail down the Red Sea, but the dread of the Turkish pirates induced them to take the very tedious and difficult route by land. It was rendered easier, however, by their joining the retinue of an ambassador from the Grand Signior to the king of Abyssinia. The route lay chiefly over craggy mountains, where they saw only wild beasts, entirely different from those of Europe. They met a few straggling tents of Arabians, distinguished for nothing but "poverty and "misery." Their food was roots, or such wild beasts as they could kill; their clothing merely the large leaves of a particular species of tree which

grows in the forests. These, being fastened to a string tied about their waists, hang down "like "pendants," so as barely to answer the call of decency. He remarks, however, that they thus resemble European nobility, in having every day a change of apparel. On coming to the frontier of the Barnagasso, they found a race of people, who, though calling themselves Christians, scarcely differed from the heathens, unless in name. Their houses were fitter for wild beasts than men, the walls being chiefly of mud, the roof of cane and reeds, and the whole fabric supported by a wooden pillar, standing in the centre of the hut. In passing through Tigré, they found the country dreadfully laid waste by a Turkish invasion. They came then to the residence of the emperor, where the Abuna was received with great pomp, and our traveller admitted to the honour of kissing the sovereign's garment.

Baratti's intimacy with the Abyssinian clergy, consequent upon his connection with the Abuna, procured to him a view of the place where the princes are confined. It was shewn to him by the bishop of Amhara. It is a strong castle, about two miles in circumference, containing gardens and walks, beautifully watered by artificial fountains, which maintain a perpetual verdure. The place appeared to him as delicious as any he had ever beheld. The princes cannot quit it unless in com-

pany with their governors; and they can in no case leave the mountain, which is approachable only by a narrow pass, carefully guarded. He saw the library, composed of ten thousand manuscript volumes, some of which he was told were the most ancient books in the world, being written by the Egyptian sages in the time of Moses. Some appeared to him to be made of the Egyptian papyrus. Twenty-three persons were constantly employed in transcribing such manuscripts as seemed to be falling into decay.

The author gives a very favourable view of the Abyssinian clergy, who, both in belief and practice, appear much superior to the Romish priests, who were so zealous for their conversion. Their monks do not devote themselves to idleness and beggary, like those of Europe; they employ a great part of the day in moderate labour, visiting the sick and other charitable offices, and spend the evening in conversation and innocent amusements. They live together in the greatest harmony; so that our author conceives, if there is a paradise upon earth, it is among these monks and friars of Ethiopia. In addition to their old creed, they have drawn up a new one to guard against the errors of the church of Rome. They declare, that, though the Virgin Mary be worthy of the highest reverence, she is neither to be worshipped nor prayed

to; that the cross is a mere badge of their profession, and possesses no virtue in itself; that, though St Peter was the chief of the apostles, his successors at Rome enjoy no authority over the rest of the church; that the apostles and martyrs are to be reverenced along with the angels, but not to be prayed to, nor their merits imputed to us; and that priests may be lawfully married, provided it be to one wife only. From these specimens, we may judge how far the religion of Abyssinia would have been improved by the introduction of the Catholic faith.

In 1698, the emperor of Abyssinia being extremely indisposed, sent a message, accompanied with liberal promises, to PONCET, an eminent physician at Cairo, requesting that he would come and afford him the benefit of his medical advice. Poncet accepted the invitation; and the opportunity being judged favourable for making a new attempt to establish the Catholic religion, Xavier de Brevedent, a Jesuit missionary, went along with him. On the 2d October, they set out from Siout with the Sennaar caravan. Poncet felt an extraordinary emotion at entering this desert of moving sand, where the slightest breeze raised a cloud that darkened the air. The danger is here imminent, of separating even for the smallest space from the rest of the caravan, as in this case it is scarcely possible ever to rejoin it, or to avoid being lost in these immense

deserts. In four days they arrived at Helaoua, (Ellwah,) called commonly the Greater Oasis. The name signifies the country of sweets, and it seemed entirely to answer the appellation. Gardens watered with rivulets, and the perpetual verdure of palm trees, formed the most agreeable contrast with the country they had left. All the fields were overspread with senna; but that shrub, so highly prized in Europe, is never used in this country. They now entered on another desert, much more extensive and complete than the one they had first traversed. Here they could not discover a single spring or rivulet; neither birds, beasts, grass, nor even the smallest insect; nothing but mountains, dead bodies and bones of camels, objects which struck our traveller with inexpressible horror. After passing Chabba, (Sheb,) a region abounding in alum, they came so Selyme, where they found excellent water, and supplied themselves with a stock of that necessary for five days. They did not, however, see a human habitation, till they arrived at Machoo, (Moscho,) a large town on the eastern shore of the Nile, where that river forms several fertile islands. Their route now lay along its shores, through a fertile and agreeable valley, which did not, however, extend above a league in breadth, and bordered immediately on the most frightful deserts. Even this limited fertility is not the gift of nature, for, as the banks are high, no inundation takes

place; but the water is raised by machines drawn by oxen into vast reservoirs, whence it is distributed over the district.

On the 13th November, Poncet arrived at Dongola, and is, so far as we recollect, the only modern traveller who has visited this ancient capital of Nubia. His description of it is not very splendid. It stands on the declivity of a dry sandy hill, and the streets are almost choaked with sand, which the floods bring down from the mountains behind. The houses are low and ill built, the streets half deserted. The castle, which stands in the centre of the city, is spacious, but poorly fortified, though it is sufficient to keep the Arabs in check. They dined several times with the king, who was dressed in green velvet, and had a numerous guard, armed with long swords and pikes. Persons of rank here go bareheaded, their hair being disposed in tresses, and their whole attire consisting in a rude vest without sleeves. Their horses are perfectly beautiful, and the riders very skilful. They profess the Mahometan religion, but know nothing of it beyond the confession of faith, which they continually repeat. Their usual course of life is irregular and dissolute in the extreme. Father Brevedent is said to have shed tears on reflecting that they were once Christians, and fell away, merely from the want of missionaries to instruct them.

On the 6th January 1699, the party left Dongola, and arrived at Korti, in the kingdom of Sennaar. The people who inhabit the banks of the river, above this place, are in a lawless state, and plunder all the caravans that pass by; travellers are therefore obliged to take their course through the desert of Bahiouda. This desert, however, is less frightful than those of Libya, herbs and trees being found in it. After some days, they arrived at Derrara, (Derri,) on the banks of the Nile; and some time after, at Guerri, (Gerri,) they crossed that river. The goods and passengers were conveyed in boats, but the cattle were fastened with ropes, and obliged to swim over. After travelling through some fine forests of acacias, they arrived at the city of Sennaar, the situation of which appeared to them enchanting. Poncet describes it as large, containing 100,000 souls. The houses are poorly built, though the flat roofs form agreeable terraces. The king's palace is surrounded with a lofty brick wall, but the edifices which compose it are not arranged with any degree of order or taste. The apartments, however, are richly adorned with carpets. They were introduced to the king the day after their arrival. After passing through a spacious court, paved with a kind of delft ware, they found the monarch seated cross legged on a very neat sofa, surrounded by about twenty old men. He himself was only

nineteen, well made, of a majestic stature, and, though black, had neither the thick lips nor flat nose usually found in the negro race. He was dressed in a long silken vest embroidered with gold, having over it a kind of scarf made of very fine cotton. Before entering, they were obliged to pull off their shoes; and on being ushered into the presence, did homage, by falling on their knees, and kissing the ground thrice. The king shewed great pleasure at the view of the glasses, curiosities, &c. which were offered as presents, and put many questions, which shewed an intelligent and inquisitive turn of mind. The chief amusement of this monarch, was to make an excursion twice a week into the country, with a numerous cavalcade of courtiers and attendants. Most of his time there was spent in seeing his nobles fire at a mark. On other days, he devoted himself almost entirely to public business, particularly to the administration of justice, which is performed in the summary manner usual over all the east. On the death of a king of Sennaar, the great council assembles, and having fixed upon the heir, immediately takes measures for putting all his brothers to death. One brother of the reigning monarch, however, had escaped this barbarous precaution, and was now in Abyssinia.

Poncet was much struck with the cheapness of all commodities at Sennaar. A camel cost only seven or eight livres, an ox two and a half, a sheep

fifteenpence, and a hen a penny. The market was held daily in an open square, in the centre of the city. There was also a slave market in the square before the palace. An extensive trade was carried on by way of Saquem, (Suakem,) on the Red Sea. The exports were ivory, tamarinds, civet, gold dust, &c. : the imports very various, chiefly spices, hardware, toys, particularly a species of black beads made at Venice.

Our traveller, for what reason we know not, spent three months at Sennaar, during which time he was treated with the greatest honours. It then appeared time to proceed on his destination. He was delayed nineteen days at Geasim, (Giesim.) Here the plain terminating, and the country rising into mountains, they were obliged to sell all their camels, as unfit for travelling a rough and uneven ground. After passing for some days through vast groves of tamarind trees, they arrived at Serka, the frontier town of Abyssinia. The route lay now over mountains, cultivated to the summit, and covered with fine trees unknown to Europe. On the road, Father Brevedent died, an event deeply lamented by Poncet, who, besides various other eminent qualities, ascribes to him the gift of prophecy, and the power of working miracles. On the 21st July he arrived at Gondar, and the very next day received a private visit from the emperor, whom he continued to see almost daily ; but it was

not till the 10th of August that he was able to attend a public audience. He found the emperor seated on his throne; it was a kind of sofa, the feet of which were of solid gold, and was covered with a carpet and cushions richly ornamented with gold. ' It was placed in an alcove at the upper end of the hall, under a dome glittering with gold and blue. His head was bare, with a large emerald above the forehead. The rest of his dress consisted of a vest and sash, both richly embroidered with gold.

Poncet made three low bows to the emperor, and kissed his hand. The usual previous ceremony of a triple prostration, and kissing the feet, was dispensed with in his case, out of very peculiar favour. The never-failing ceremony of presents passed in a satisfactory manner; the doctor was then made to sit down, and a magnificent collation served up.

The emperor immediately placed himself under the course of medicine prescribed by our traveller, the effect of which was so happy, that in a short time he was perfectly cured; a result which added greatly to the favour which he had previously enjoyed. That monarch, being extremely devout, determined now to take the sacrament according to the rites of his country; and our traveller was invited to witness the ceremony. It was celebrated with a profuse display of worldly pomp. Twelve thousand men were drawn up in the court of the

palace, through whom the emperor marched in his most splendid attire, preceded by the sound of fifes, kettle-drums, trumpets, hautboys, and other instruments. His crown, adorned with a cross of jewels, was carried before him, and his led horses, covered with immensely rich trappings, closed the procession. On the entrance into the church, two cannons were fired, and two more, when the sacrament was administered. The emperor dined that day in public. Our traveller's account of the dishes coincides precisely with that of Lobo, with the addition, that every thing which the monarch eats is previously tasted. A little brandy, followed by mead, were the only liquors used by him. Poncet was surprised at the absence of wine, considering the admirable grapes which the country produced. He was told, however, that the heat prevented wine from keeping; and, on tasting the mead, he found it delicious, though not very salutary to the stomach.

Gondar is three or four leagues in circumference, and contains a hundred churches. It exhibits nothing, however, of the splendour of an European city. The houses are only one story high, and there are no shops. The trade, which is extensive, is carried on in a vast open space, where the goods are daily exposed on mats. The current specie consists of gold and salt.

Poncet was prevented by accident from visiting

the sources of the Nile, but gives an account of them from report, nearly similar to that of Lobo. His view of the political state of the country also differs in no material respect from that of other travellers. Finding his health injured by the climate, he determined, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the emperor, to return to Egypt. He went by the common track through Tigré, so that little of novelty occurs in the remainder of his journey. He embarked at Messua (Massuah) on the 28th October 1699.

After the time of Poncet, a long period elapsed without any journey deserving of notice being undertaken into Abyssinia. That country became almost forgotten in Europe, when it was again brought into view by the exertions of one individual. This new traveller embarked in the dangerous enterprise, without any motives of fanaticism or ambition, but solely to promote his own reputation and the interests of science. His journey formed the first in a series made with this enlightened and liberal view, into the interior of this vast continent. After his consulship at Algiers, Mr Bruce seems to have determined upon undertaking some important expedition, though he hesitated for some time as to the direction. At length he fixed upon Abyssinia. His imagination was peculiarly fired by the idea of penetrating to the sources of the

Nile, which appeared to him yet undiscovered, though they had long excited the curiosity of the most celebrated philosophers, and even conquerors. On this subject, he laboured under some errors. The object at best was a very secondary one to that which he really accomplished, of exploring the physical and moral character of a region so vast, and presenting so many interesting features. Mr Bruce was aware, that the journey was dangerous. He fortified himself, therefore, by a firman from the Porte, and by letters from the sheriffe of Mecca, and his minister, Metical Aga. He was warned that all these would but imperfectly protect him against the Naybe of Arkeeko, a stupid and bloodthirsty wretch, who, in the confusion of the country, had rendered himself nearly independent, and made it a regular practice to rob and murder every stranger. Our traveller, however, was not to be easily intimidated. He had been preceded by his guide, Mahomet Ghiberti, who spread the report that a great prince, son or brother to a king, was soon to arrive at Massuah. This boasted extraction did not prevent the Naybe from proposing in council, that he should be put to death, and his effects seized upon. His nephew Achmet, however, strongly objected to such a measure, not on the ground of honour, which would have made little impression in such a quarter, but in consideration of the danger of committing this outrage upon so mighty

a prince, at the very time when an English vessel was lying off the harbour of Jidda. The Naybe thereupon half consented to spare this victim.

Mr Bruce arrived at Massuah on the 20th of September, and immediately waited on Achmet, whom he found sitting in the market-place dressed in a large white muslin frock, similar to those worn in Europe by children; an attire neither suited to his figure nor character, but which formed his full dress. Mr Bruce saw him afterwards at his house in undress, when he wore only a pair of calico drawers. He questioned him strictly if he really was of that exalted rank, reported by Mahomet Ghiberti. Our traveller frankly told him the real state of the case, which did not cause any coolness in Achmet's friendship. On the 21st, the Naybe arrived at Massuah, and Mr Bruce was introduced. He found him sitting in a large wooden elbow chair, at the end of two files of naked attendants, and with no other dress than a cotton shirt so dirty, that all hope seemed over of its ever again being clean. The letters were presented, to which he paid very little attention, but merely laid them beside him, saying, that it would require a month to read them all. On receiving the presents, a gleam of satisfaction appeared, which he did not, however, deign to express. Mr Bruce retired, on the whole, very little content with this interview. He soon after received an immense list of presents, that

were to be given to the chief in his various characters; as Naybe of Arkeeko, as a Turkish Aga, and as having abstained from searching the baggage. Mr Bruce, emboldened by Achmet's protection, peremptorily refused to give any thing in any of these capacities. He was immediately sent for, and a violent altercation ensued; though, at the end of it, the Naybe, learning that he had letters to Michael Suhul, governor of Tigré, growled a species of consent to his departure. He afterwards, however, again attempted, by the most violent threats, to extract presents and sums of money, and attempts were even made by his emissaries to break into the house in the night time; but Bruce being supported not only by Achmet, but by the sardar of the Janissaries, at length succeeded in effecting his departure.

Our traveller now ascended the vast chain of mountains, over which the road into the interior of Abyssinia is conducted. The pass of Taranta was particularly formidable, it being extremely difficult to convey over the quadrant and other astronomical instruments. Mr Bruce does not agree, however, with those who represent the mountains of Tigré as loftier than the Alps or the Pyrenees. A mountain, near St Jean Pied de Port, appeared to him higher than Lamalmon, and the St Bernard than Taranta. The most striking circumstance consists in their forms, some being flat, thin, and square,

like a hearthstone; some resembling pyramids, others obelisks or prisms; some even, he asserts, being like pyramids pitched on their points. The party then arrived at Dixan, a considerable town, forming the frontier between the Naybe's territory and that of Abyssinia. A little beyond, he came up to the Baharnagash. The first sight of this prince impressed him with little reverence, as he and his seven followers had an appearance equally beggarly. He proved, however, to be a person of greater consequence than might at first sight have been supposed. After spending two days with him, Mr Bruce went on and arrived at Adowa, the capital of Tigré. From thence he went to see the monastery of Fremona, which had always been the chief establishment of the Jesuits. It was about a mile in circumference, surrounded by walls flanked with towers, and pierced for musquetry. It appeared to him by much the most defensible place he saw in Abyssinia, and to have more the air of a castle than a convent.

Mr Bruce next visited the ruins of Axum, which will be noticed more particularly under Mr Salt's travels. After leaving that place, he overtook three soldiers driving a cow, which they suddenly stopt, and threw down upon the ground. Mr Bruce supposed they were about to kill the animal; but was much surprised, when, having cut out two beef steaks from the buttock, they applied some clay to

the wound, and again drove her before them. This appeared to him the most soldier-like and commodious mode of carrying provisions that he had ever seen. He was not yet aware, that food in this live state, was the common and favourite banquet of the country.

Bruce now passed through the province of Sire, and crossed the Tacazze, the banks of which appeared to him very beautiful, from the number of fine trees with which they were covered. Before reaching Gondar, he had still to cross the lofty mountain of Lamalmon. He did not, however, experience any inconvenience in the passage; on the contrary, the cool air proved a restorative both to his spirits and appetite. On its top is a large plain, where corn is produced abundantly. In descending, he came in sight of Gondar, in which the king's palace only was visible; the rest was so involved in trees, that it appeared merely like a dark grove.

Abyssinia was at this time convulsed by violent civil war. Ras Michael, the governor of Tigré, had assassinated the late king Joas, and had placed on the throne Teela Haimanout, a youth of fifteen, who acted entirely under his direction. To consolidate this usurped power, he endeavoured to secure an alliance with the queen dowager or Iteghe, by marrying her daughter Ozoro Esther, and he courted Powussen and Gusho, the governors of

Amhara and Begemder, who were in the queen's interest. All these persons merely temporized with Michael, till they could find an opportunity of overthrowing his power. Besides this internal source of dissension, Fasil, the chief of the Galla, had seized the fertile southern provinces of Damot, Gojam, Maitsha, and Agoumidre, and, with a view to extend his footing in Abyssinia, had declared his determination to avenge the murder of the late king.

When Mr Bruce arrived at Gondar, the principal persons to whom he was recommended happened to be absent. An accident, however, soon introduced him at court. Two young princes, the grandchildren of the Iteghe, were seized with the small-pox; and Mr Bruce, who, during his stay at Tripoli, had acquired a slight knowledge of medicine, which rendered him much superior to the Abyssinian physicians, was sent for to attend them. Their mother, Ozoro Esther, was then assiduously nursing them; a circumstance which threw her and Mr Bruce constantly together. Our traveller, besides the care he bestowed upon the children, was calculated, both by person and manners, to render himself agreeable to the fair sex; so that, with these opportunities, he soon made great progress in the good graces of the princess, who, from that time, did every thing in her power to render his residence in Abyssinia agreeable.

Mr Bruce saw Ras Michael, for the first time, on his return from a campaign against the Galla. He appeared lean, old, with sore eyes, and had merely a dirty cloth wrapt about his person. On our traveller being introduced, he gave the usual salutation, but took no farther notice of him. Afterwards, when Mahomet Ghiberti requested protection for him, Michael protested the extreme difficulty he found in protecting himself, and his consequent total inability to protect any other person. When, however, he was told that Yagoube (the name borne by Mr Bruce) excelled all the Abyssinians in riding and shooting; and when his skill in the latter exercise was proved by his piercing a shield with a candle, Michael's neglect ceased, and he appointed him to an office near his person. Mr Bruce was now admitted to a share in the scenes of coarse and brutal festivity, with which Gondar was then filled. Michael was marrying one of his grand-daughters to Powussen, governor of Begemder. A vast number of cattle were slaughtered every day, and the meat distributed raw through the town; while hydromel was drunk in immense quantities. Mr Bruce was obliged to dine every day with the king, and to drink copiously of that favourite liquor, to the great injury of his health. In the evening, he repaired to parties given by married ladies, who ate, drank, and smoked like the men; and whose

whole conduct was, if possible, still less under the guidance of order and decorum. Our traveller's health was soon so much injured by this course of life, that he was forced to retire for some time to a house in the country.

These festive scenes were the forerunner of an entire change of affairs. Gusho and Powussen, the friends of the Iteghe, and of the late king, formed, in conjunction with Fasil, chief of the Galla, a plan to surround and cut off Michael. The latter gained intelligence of their design, but could escape its effects only by retiring into Tigré. The confederate chiefs then marched upon Gondar, where they set up a youth of the name of Socinios as king, and themselves exercised the whole power of the state. Mr Bruce now retired to the Iteghe's country house at Koscam, where he was in safety, though he still continued attached to Michael. During an interval of amity between that prince and Fasil, Mr Bruce had insinuated himself into the favour of the Galla chief, and had obtained a grant of the village of Geesh, for the purpose of visiting the sources of the Nile which lie in its vicinity. This having been always the grand object of our traveller's ambition, he determined, in its pursuit, to brave the imminent dangers arising from the barbarous people by whom this district was now occupied. He departed accordingly, without regard to the earnest advice of his Abys-

sinian friends, or to the fears with which they endeavoured to inspire him.

He visited first the great cataract of Alatá, down which the Nile falls, after passing through the lake of Dembea. He describes it as the most magnificent sight he ever beheld. The whole river fell down in one sheet from the height of about forty feet, with a force and noise which made our traveller dizzy. A thick haze covered the fall, and spread over the course of the stream both above and below. The water seemed received into a deep and capacious basin, and, at the same time, tortured into twenty different eddies. Mr Bruce declares, that, while in view of this stupendous scene, his mind was in a sort of temporary alienation;—it seemed as if the fountains of the great deep were once more broken up, and this mighty element was again to overwhelm the world in destruction. No length of life, he says, can ever efface from his memory the impression of so magnificent a spectacle.

Bruce had not yet seen Fasil, but at Bamba had an interview with that personage. He was sitting, wrapped in a lion's skin, with another, as a carpet, under his feet, and a piece of dirty cotton cloth wrapt round his head. After the common salutation, he said no more, and seemed disposed to take no notice of our traveller; but the latter pressing upon him his object of visiting Gojam and

the sources of the Nile, Fasil, without absolutely refusing his request, allowed clearly to transpire the utter contempt in which he held him as a Frank and white man. Mr Bruce on this occasion burst into a violent rage, and threw out the bitterest taunts at this barbarous chieftain. His wrath so agitated his whole frame, as to cause a violent bleeding at the nose, which occasioned him to be carried home to his lodgings. On beginning to cool, he was much discomposed on considering the effects which Fasil's resentment might produce; and particularly, in thinking that all prospect of visiting the Nile must certainly be over. He was much surprised to learn, that Fasil, without discomposing himself, had given the necessary directions for forwarding him to the spot which he wished to visit. This intelligence, which he could scarcely at first credit, was next morning fully confirmed; and, by a display of his powers in riding and shooting, he removed the contempt with which the Galla chief had at first viewed him, and they parted on good terms. He was accommodated with two necessary companions; one of which was Woldo, an inferior chief, whose character was marked by all the savage eccentricities of his nation; the other was Fasil's horse, given, not for the purpose of riding, but of driving before him. This horse, it seems, was viewed with such profound respect by every Galla, that, preceded by him, they

were in as perfect security as if Fasil himself had accompanied them. They soon accordingly met a chief, with a party under his command, who scarcely spoke to Bruce, but addressed the horse in terms of the deepest veneration, and held with him a conversation of some length, in which he lamented his fate in being delivered to a white man, who could never entertain an adequate sense of what was due to him. Our traveller, therefore, proceeded in full confidence with Woldo and the horse, though he found great difficulty in restraining the rapacious disposition of the former. At length he reached the district of Sacala, a green and fertile region, in which these long sought for fountains were to be found. His emotions were first raised to the highest pitch, by arriving at a portion of the infant stream, so narrow that it could be stepped over, which he did in triumph fifty or sixty times. Then, at his eager desire, he was led by his guide to the principal fountain. He now bursts into raptures similar to those of Payz, at having arrived at an object which the most powerful sovereigns of ancient or modern times had sought in vain to explore. These ecstasies were very suddenly interrupted by gloomy reflections on his situation, and on the dangers by which he is surrounded. He soon recovered his cheerfulness, however, and spent some days in examining the appearance of all the places around. He

then left Geesh, and went to the house of Welled Amlac, an intimate friend of Fasil, with whom the wife of that chief was residing, and where he was received with ample and very peculiar marks of barbarous hospitality. Meantime Michael, having assembled a large army in Tigré, marched upon Gondar, which the confederates being unable to maintain against him, retreated and left him again in possession of that capital. This was a revolution entirely acceptable to Mr Bruce, who had always continued attached to Michael. He was mistaken, however, in supposing that his residence at Gondar would now be agreeable. Michael came breathing vengeance upon all who had taken part against him in his recent reverse; and his own austere character heightening the ferocious temper of the nation, drove him and his adherents into the most furious extremities. The streets of Gondar streamed with blood; and the dead bodies being left unburied, were devoured by the hyenas, who came down in large herds from the neighbouring mountains. Mr Bruce could not stir abroad without meeting spectacles which froze his senses with horror; while his sensibility to them, being considered as a proof of effeminacy, tended to lower his estimation in the eyes of the Abyssinians. Meantime, new revolutions were abroad. The confederates had again reinforced their army, and were in a condition to resume the offensive. Michael

marched to meet them, and a great battle took place at Serbraxos, in which, though he claimed the victory, he sustained so immense a loss of officers and men, as made him soon unable to make head against the increasing power of the enemy. He retreated upon Gondar; and retreat, to an undisciplined army, is the sure forerunner of dispersion. The confederates marched to the capital, which they quickly subdued, and reduced Michael to the state of a prisoner. Mr Bruce now felt his stay more than ever irksome; he therefore solicited, and at length obtained, permission to depart.

Our traveller had determined to return homewards by the route of Sennaar and Nubia. This introduced a new region to his view; but it was accompanied with dangers which were very formidable. The first which he encountered were at Teawa, the residence of Fedaile, Shekh of Atbara. That chief had transmitted the most ample promises of favour and protection, but with the determination of following an entirely opposite course. Soon after the arrival of the party, he sent a peremptory demand for a large sum of money. This being refused, he immediately withheld every accommodation for their journey, and soon after evinced his intention of attacking them by open force. Mr Bruce, with his little band, was for some time kept in a state of siege; but their resolution, and superior skill in fire arms, enabled them to set the chief at de-

fiance. Fedaile having then, by fair promises, induced our traveller to pay him a visit at his own house, attempted to assassinate him; but the intrepidity and bodily vigour of Mr Bruce rescued him from this danger. Next day, a Moullah, or holy man, arriving from his friend the shekh of Beyla, Fedaile durst not make any farther attempts against him. Mr Bruce, therefore, set out, and passing through Beyla, crossed the Nile at Basboch, and arrived at Sennaar. The government of that kingdom was in a condition, to which such barbarous states are extremely liable. The hereditary monarch retained the pomp and shadow of sovereignty; while the real power resided in the commander of the army, who was called Shekh Adelan. It was to the latter that our traveller was first introduced. He received him in a very blunt and soldier-like manner, bordering on roughness; but finding that he replied in his own style, and that he understood horses, which were his own favourite passion, he soon became his friend, and engaged to protect him. Mr Bruce did not succeed so well with the king, and during his stay, several plots were formed against him, from which, however, he succeeded in extricating himself. His most critical situation was when he was sent to act as physician to the king's wives, whom he found, to the number of forty, assembled in one room. These ladies, in order that he might judge the more tho-

roughly of their situation, immediately began by unveiling, without reserve, all the charms which nature had bestowed upon them. These appeared to our traveller so exceedingly small, as to be incapable of exciting a single idea, which could give offence to the royal husband; yet he did not the less tremble for the consequence, should he be discovered by that monarch in such a situation.

Sennaar is a very populous town, and the houses, though only of clay, are well built, according to the fashion of the country. Since Poncet visited it, some have been built of two stories. It is raised barely to such a height above the river, as to prevent the danger of being overflowed. The soil of the district immediately adjoining is fat and rich to an extraordinary degree, and produces vegetable food in the greatest abundance; but no domestic animals can live upon it. These can only be reared upon the sands, which begin at two miles distance from the river. It is there, accordingly, that Shekh Adelan keeps his cavalry, while the king, confined to the city, cannot maintain a single horse. The kingdom is hereditary, and descends to the eldest son; and all the rest of the royal family are put to death. What is more singular, the grandees claim a right of putting an end to the life of the sovereign, whenever it seems to them expedient. There is an officer regularly appointed, whose duty it is to put this sentence into execution; and who,

in the meantime, fills the place of master of the household, and is closely attached to the person of the king; nor is there said to exist any grudge between the two individuals on account of this extraordinary relation in which they stand.

After leaving Sennaar, Mr Bruce came in a few days to Halifoon, near which the Bahr el Abiad falls into the Bahr el Azergue. The last of these rivers he uniformly considers as the Nile, though he observes, that the Abiad rolls three times the quantity of water, and is constantly full, while the other is a very great stream only in the rainy season. He proceeded thence to Chendi, where he found extensive ruins, which he conjectures might be those of the ancient Meroe. Soon after the party lost sight of the Nile, which here takes a great bend to the west. They entered then upon the desert of Nubia, where, for five hundred miles, they travelled without meeting a human habitation. Only a few watering places interrupted the expanse of naked rock and burning sand. The travellers had nearly sunk under this journey, especially as, towards the close of it, the camels lay down, and were unable to proceed. They made, however, a last effort, by which they at length came in sight of the Nile near Syene, which proved the termination of their sufferings.

After following Mr Bruce through this train of adventure, it may not be uninteresting to take some

notice of those very warm discussions that have arisen relative to the authenticity of his narrative. There exists in all common readers an unwillingness to believe whatever passes the limits of their ordinary observations. The strange and uncouth manners described by our traveller, the bloody feasts of the Abyssinians, the savage wildness of the Galla, appeared to such persons altogether incredible. So short is the memory of the reading public, as to make it be wholly forgotten, that all former travellers in Abyssinia, who were numerous, had uniformly described the very same things. That the judgment pronounced by such readers was rash, seems now pretty generally admitted. Good materials of judging upon the question have been furnished by Mr Salt, whose cool good sense, and strict veracity, make him form an excellent check to the rapid imagination and *etourderie* of his precursor. The following are the chief points of discrepancy:

Mr Salt, in his first narrative, denies the cutting of flesh from the living animal; but in the second, he very candidly admits, that the observations of a fellow traveller proved this savage practice to exist, and to be distinguished by a peculiar name, that of cutting the *shulada*. But Mr Salt still disputes the statement of Bruce, that the animal is alive when the *brinde*, or raw flesh, is cut out. As he admits, however, that it is brought as close as possible to the place; that the moment the mortal

blow is struck, the slices began to be cut, and are brought to table still warm, with the fibres quivering; the difference between the two travellers is reduced to a very narrow compass. A very slight want of precise observation might lead Mr Bruce to overlook the distinction; not to mention the possibility that, in this case, as in the other, Mr Salt's scepticism might arise from his shorter opportunities of observation. Mr Salt confirms the irregular conduct of the Abyssinian ladies, but not those open indecencies which are described by Bruce. It is observable, however, that the present Ras, according to Mr Salt's statements, entertains views upon this subject quite uncommon in Abyssinia, and exacts a degree of outward decorum, to which the court had never before been accustomed. Mr Bruce, on the contrary, saw it in a state of peculiar licence, so that an actual variation in the state of manners at these different periods is exceedingly probable. The other contradictions are trifling, and, except the *jeu d'esprit* about the eclipse at Teawa, rest on rather defective evidence.

The charges connected with Mr Bruce having referred the head of the Egyptian Nile to the river of Abyssinia, instead of the larger stream of the Bahr el Abiad, appear to have still less foundation. When that traveller left Europe, all modern geographers and travellers, without a single exception, had considered the Abyssinian river to

be the Nile. To arrive at its source, which he supposed had never been visited by any European, had become, in preference to all others, the object of Mr Bruce's ambition. It was his thought by day, and his dream by night. Through immense hardships, and at the hazard of life, he accomplished the favourite object. After all this, it cannot be a subject of wonder, scarcely even of blame, if his mind was not very open to the nice train of investigation, by which D'Anville had proved, that the river visited by him had no claim to be considered as the Nile. This, however, was an opinion, not a fact, and it cannot be wondered, that Mr Bruce should have a pretty strong bias upon one side. It would appear by a notice of Mr Pinkerton, that the historian and geographer, neither of whom were much in the habit of tolerating opposite opinions, met at Paris, and that a violent collision took place. Several passages in Mr Bruce's writings bear traces of the profound indignation which he felt at this supposed attempt to rob him of his fame. It is remarkable, that he never makes the most distant allusion to the existence of any opinion different from his own; which doubtless implies a certain degree of disingenuity. Yet the fact, that the Abiad, at the point of junction, is three times larger than the Azergue, is expressly stated in the printed text of his Travels, and it is one for which, so far as I know, we are exclusively indebted to him. There

is no small glory, I think, in recording this fact, knowing it, as he did, to militate so strongly against his own most fondly cherished hypothesis.

But this was not the only mortification which Mr Bruce had to encounter in returning to Europe. The passage in Kircher, already noticed, was pointed out to him, where Payz reports the visit made by himself to those sources; so that, even if they were the real fountains of the Nile, Mr Bruce was not the first European by whom they had been explored. This charge he openly meets, and endeavours at great length to prove, that the narrative of Payz could not apply to the spot which he pretended to visit. These arguments do not seem well founded; but Bruce nowhere misrepresents facts in order to support them. On the contrary, his opponents have contested these arguments chiefly by a comparison of his description with that of Payz. Hartman thinks it sufficient to print the two in parallel columns, in order to shew their correspondence. Now, I think it is dealing rather hardly with Bruce to accuse him of positive falsehood, merely for forming erroneous opinions; when, instead of disguising the truth in order to support these opinions, he furnishes himself the facts by which they have been refuted.

A heavy charge yet remains. There are two journeys which Mr Bruce professes to have made; one from Badjoura up the Nile to Syene; the

other from Loheia, to the Straits of Babelmandel; both of which, there is much reason to suspect, never were performed. There is no mention of them in his own journey; none in those of his companion Balugani; none in a letter to Mr Wood, where he gives a general summary of his early travels. There are also astronomical observations taken at Loheia, on a day when, according to the Travels, he ought to have been absent on the voyage to Babelmandel. The combination of all these circumstances certainly gives the affair a very unfavourable aspect. Yet I know not if it be so wholly impossible, as even his editor seems to suppose, that he really performed these journeys. Should we suppose Balugani to have remained behind, and to have made the observations, some of the difficulties would be solved. The circumstances which might induce us to catch at any possibility, is the want of all conceivable motive for these gross and scandalous fictions. Had the feigned excursions been made into some yet unknown region in the heart of Africa, where no other traveller had penetrated, the case would have been very different. On the contrary, they were voyages made quite in the common and beaten track, in the performance of which there was neither glory nor difficulty. The one up the Nile, in particular, carries him over the very same ground which he afterwards really traversed in his return from

Abyssinia; so that it made no addition to the sphere of his travels. These considerations cannot, indeed, weigh against positive proof; but they may make us require a higher degree of evidence, and more strictly scrutinize any deficiencies, if they really exist. It can only be added, that if, from some absurd and inconceivable caprice, Mr Bruce has really feigned these voyages, he has at least not made them the vehicle of any erroneous information as to the countries or their inhabitants. This was indeed precluded by his choosing a theatre, where he was checked by other travellers of good authority. He appears, in fact, to have at all events used the best materials that were to be had at the time; and his descriptions of the places are good, whether he visited them or not. I am far from insinuating that such forgeries are not highly culpable, under any modification; but they certainly hold a very different place from those of Psalmanazar or Damberger, who, having chosen for their theme regions where neither they themselves, nor any one else, had ever travelled, described countries and scenes which never existed.

Lord Valentia having occasion, in 1805, to be in the Red Sea, Mr Salt, a very well informed and intelligent gentleman, attached to his suite, determined to undertake a journey into Abyssinia, which, since the time of Bruce, had remained entirely unexplored by Europeans. Mr Salt was sent also on

a mission in 1809, and as, on both occasions, he went nearly over the same ground, we shall incorporate together the information which he collected during these different excursions.

Mr Salt first landed at the port of Massuah. Here the usual conflict began with the Nayib, as to the amount of the presents to be given, in return for protection granted. Five hundred dollars, though very inadequate to the original demand, were at length reluctantly accepted. Except this extreme anxiety to extract as much as possible, the party had no particular cause of complaint against the Nayib. Mr Salt spent two days at Arkeeko, of whose inhabitants he draws a most unfavourable picture. They seem to unite the worst vices of civilized and savage society. Even those of Massuah, who are far from ranking high in the scale of morality, view with abhorrence the people of Arkeeko. After dark, while they were retiring to bed, the Nayib came to warn them of the absolute necessity that the door should be carefully fastened; and the centinel who guarded it put on his hat and shoes, lest they should be stolen from him in the night time. Mr Salt felt therefore considerable satisfaction in being able to commence his journey. It lay for some time over that chain of lofty and barren mountains which separates the province of Tigré from the sea coast. The most difficult part of the track was through the pass

of Taranta, which Mr Salt did not find quite so formidable as Mr Bruce's narrative had led him to expect. Dixan is a considerable town; the houses are flat roofed, and without chimneys, having merely two pots of earthen ware set up as vents. The people here are of a dark complexion; they are idle, ignorant, and dirty. All the labours of agriculture are devolved upon the females, who are obliged to go out to the fields with their children on their backs. Their music was found by Mr Salt to be quite intolerable. There are no schools for instruction in reading; not one in twenty possesses that qualification; so that the small number who do, consider themselves fully entitled to rank as priests. The commodities for which there was most demand in the market of Dixan, were white cloths, tobacco, pepper, looking-glasses, and spirits.

Mr Salt was introduced to the Baharnagash, and tolerably received by him. He was a tall elderly man, with a mild countenance. He had a single garment round his body, and an ensign was borne before him, consisting of a peeled staff six feet long. His jurisdiction extended only over six or seven villages. He was chief priest as well as first magistrate, and read prayers morning and evening to a numerous assembly.

Passing through Abha, Agouma, and some other villages, Mr Salt arrived at Genater, where he was

invited by the chief to a splendid entertainment. Here, for the first time, he saw the brinde feast in all its glory. The hall contained ninety-five persons, who, with their long knives, contending for pieces of raw flesh, from which the blood was dripping, presented a truly savage spectacle. The ladies sat behind a half-drawn curtain, and seeing probably that their visitor did not much relish his actual situation, invited him to seat himself along with them. Mr Salt found this change very agreeable, as the lady of the house was young, pretty, and even gentle in her manners.

Leaving Genater, our traveller came to Abuhasubba, a large church entirely cut out of the solid rock: One of the rooms was fifty feet by thirty; another had a dome forty feet high. The walls were carved, adorned with crosses, Ethiopic inscriptions, and paintings which represented Christ, the Apostles, and St George. They then arrived at Antalo, which is now the residence of Ras Welleta Selasse, the viceroy of Tigré. Antalo is a town of about a thousand houses, all, except the king's residence, mere hovels of mud and straw. Its situation is not agreeable; but its vicinity to the frontier, in the present disturbed state of the kingdom, has made it be chosen as the most convenient seat of government. Mr Salt was soon introduced to the Ras, whom he found a fine old man, with an

animated and intelligent countenance. He was invited to breakfast, where brinde was copiously served up. Our traveller declining this food, was supplied with curry, and with round balls made of wild cellery, curds, and ghee. The Ras, in sign of peculiar favour, fed him with his own hand, thrusting the balls into his mouth in the same manner as boys among us feed their magpies. In the outer hall, meanwhile, the attendants were scrambling violently with drawn knives for the pieces of brinde.

Welleta Selasse, in Mr Bruce's time, was a young man about four or five and twenty; he was of some consequence at court, and is enumerated by that traveller among his friends. The first important place to which he was appointed, was that of protector of the salt caravans. Having quarrelled with Ras Michael, he was obliged, on that chief's return to power, to take shelter in the mountainous districts, where he maintained a predatory warfare. At this time he challenged any two chiefs of the army to fight him in single combat; and two of distinguished bravery having presented themselves, he killed them both with his own hand. This exploit, which was rendered more conspicuous by his slender and delicate form, raised him to high consideration throughout all Abyssinia. On the death of the "old lion," as Ras Michael was called, he openly contended for the government of the provinces east of the Tacazze, of which a succes-

sion of victories rendered him completely master. It was considered now a regular system that the governor of Tigré should supply a king to Abyssinia, and Welleta Selasse readily undertook that office. It was necessary to select one who should be of some personal talent and consideration, and, at the same time, entirely subservient to himself. The latter object being more carefully attended to than the former, the Ras found his kings unable to support the dignity to which he had raised them. After successive trials, he found it prudent to make a compromise with Guxo, governor of Begemder, his rival in king-making; and a joint one was appointed between them, a species of neutral substance, which interrupted neither in the uncontrolled exercise of their respective authorities. Even this arrangement, however, could not long preserve harmony between these rival chiefs; and, when Mr Salt was last in Abyssinia, they were again preparing to take the field against each other.

All Mr Bruce's great friends, Ayto Aylo, Ayto Confu, Ozoro Esther, and Tecla Mariam, were dead. The family of the last, however, was living in splendour at Gondar.

From Antalo, Mr Salt set out on an excursion to Axum. In his way he passed through Adowa, a large town, and the capital of Tigré. It contains an extensive manufactory of coarse cotton cloths,

which supply nearly the whole of Abyssinia, and even circulate as money. All the commerce between the sea and the interior of Abyssinia is carried on through this town. The inhabitants are said to be more civilized and polished than those of the other cities of the empire. Its situation is uncommonly pleasant, and commands a magnificent view over the vast range of the mountains of Tigré.

Mr Salt proceeded next to Axum, the celebrated capital of ancient Abyssinia, whose former grandeur is still attested by magnificent ruins. The great obelisk, which remains entire, is fully sixty feet high, and appeared to Mr Salt to surpass in elegance all that he had ever seen of Grecian, Roman, or Egyptian architecture. The order being decidedly Grecian, it could not probably be prior to the age of the Ptolemies. Many other obelisks, one of them larger than that now described, are lying broken on the ground. The church is modern, but superior to any in Tigré, except that at Chelicut. Mr Salt was particularly careful in examining the inscriptions, both here and on the obelisk, and was enabled by them to throw some light on the early history of this part of Abyssinia.

Our traveller now returned to Antalo. In passing again through Adowa, he was entertained with lavish hospitality by a princess of high rank, called

Ozoro Tishai. Maize, the liquor of the country, was copiously circulated, the lady encouraging Mr Salt both by invitation and example. The second interview was so long protracted, that our traveller could conclude it only by administering to his interpreter so copious a libation, as to render him unfit for discharging his functions any longer.

Mr Salt arrived at Antalo in time to be present at a grand review of the troops of Tigré, which were just returned from a campaign against the Galla. The chiefs, with their men, came successively for this purpose into a large circular enclosure. The commanders were commonly in rich dresses, ornamented with gold and silver; the men wore only skins, commonly of sheep, and had a fillet of skin round their head, with the hair standing up. After going seven or eight times round the enclosure, they rode up to the king, and, in a menacing attitude, threw down those shameful and barbarous trophies, by which the Abyssinians are accustomed to prove the number of enemies whom they have slain. The meanest soldier had an equal right to make this display as the highest chieftain. Their horsemanship was admirable, fully equal to that of the Arabs. Only 1500 had matchlocks; the rest were armed with spears only.

The review was followed by an exhibition equally characteristic;—the brinde feast in all its glory.

Mr Salt describes, as usual, the table covered with cakes of teff, serving at once as table-cloth and food. Near the Ras are laid a number of wheaten rolls, for his own use and that of his favourites. By breaking them, he gives the signal to begin the feast; female slaves then take the teff, dip it into the dishes of curry, a row of which stands in the centre of the table, and serve it to such of the guests as the Ras has not chosen to supply from his own store. Next come balls, composed of teff, greens, and curds. Meantime, the grand operation, that of killing the cattle, is carrying on in the court adjoining. The animal is thrown on the ground, and its head separated from the body by a Jambea knife, an invocation being at the same time pronounced over it. The skin is immediately stripped from off one side; and, while the fibres are yet quivering, large pieces are cut out, and carried into the dining-room. The chiefs then, with their large crooked knives, cut them into steaks, and then into long stripes, about an inch in diameter, which having wrapt up in teff, they thrust it into each other's mouths. Should a chief be dissatisfied with the piece presented to him, he hands it to an inferior, who, perhaps, transfers it to another, and it passes from hand to hand, till it reaches one whose situation obliges him to remain content with it. The table is occupied by successive parties of a descending scale of rank; and

when the last cakes are to be shared, a violent scramble usually arises.

Mr Salt, in his second journey, was instructed to proceed to Gondar, on a mission to the king of Abyssinia, for which the most splendid of his presents were to be reserved. The Ras, however, on this plan being mentioned, first advised against, and at length positively interdicted it. He, at the same time, expressed his own perfect readiness to receive all the presents destined for that monarch. Although this arrangement did not accord with Mr Salt's wishes and intentions, yet the situation in which he stood, appeared to leave him no alternative but to yield. He, therefore, delivered the presents, and set out for Massuah.

CHAPTER II.

EGYPT.

General View of Egypt.—Alexandria.—Lower Egypt.—Isthmus of Suez.—Feium.—Upper Egypt.—The Sea Coast.—The Oases.—Recent Observations by Denon.—Hamilton.—Legh.

* FROM the narrow isthmus of Suez, consisting of barren sand, sprinkled at intervals over a low rocky base, expands the fertile valley of Egypt. With the name of Egypt are associated so many proud ideas of remote antiquity, and colossal grandeur, that no inconsiderable effort is required to discern the features of identity in the relations of modern

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* This chapter is written by Dr Leyden, and appears now for the first time. It was intended by him to form part of a larger work on Africa, the completion of which was prevented by his departure for India. It does not, according to the general plan of this work, exhibit the adventures and successive discoveries of travellers, but condenses into one view all the information which can be collected from them. This difference did not appear as a sufficient reason for withholding from the public so interesting a piece of descriptive geography, especially as the narrow track, within which travellers in this country are confined, renders their story usually little eventful, and confines the interest of their works to the description of the superb monuments by which Egypt is adorned.

travellers, and the descriptions which occur in the historians of Greece and Rome. Since the days of Herodotus, till that period when the philosophers of France, under the auspices of a great and daring military chief, surveyed its plains and sandy wastes, Egypt has been described by numerous historians and travellers with every diversity of colouring and style. If the portrait, therefore, is dissimilar to the original, it is not because the lines are feebly marked, but because the diversity of tints obscures the delineation. In order to acquire a general idea of this singular country, "a "stranger in the place of its situation," we must represent to ourselves an immense valley, six hundred miles long, descending from the heights of Syene, between two grey ridges of sandy mountains, that frequently approach within five miles of each other, till towards the sea it terminates in a vast plain, the extent of which is above three hundred miles. Through this valley flows the majestic Nile;—now calm and tranquil, it retires within its ancient banks; now reddened with the sands of Ethiopia, it overflows the plain, and sweeps the base of the mountains. From this periodical inundation, the country assumes in succession the appearances of an ocean of fresh water, of a miry morass, of a green level plain, and of a parched desert of sand and dust. Along the Mediterranean, the shore is flat and low, nor is it till the mariner

has approached within three leagues of the coast, that the palm trees of Egypt, and the sand-hills on which they grow, seem to emerge from the waters. Advancing from the shore, a vast plain, naked and unbounded, opens to the view, under a horizon flat and unvaried, where the eye, searching in vain for an interesting object, wanders among the slender date trees, and thinly scattered palms, or rests on groups of huts composed of brick and mud. Such is the vast plain of Lower Egypt, which comprehends all the country bounded by Cairo, the Mediterranean, the isthmus of Suez, and the Libyan desert. Upper Egypt, or the Sahid, commences at Cairo, and extends to the cataracts of Syene, between two chains of mountains which run from north to south. The western range, which separates Egypt from Libya, terminates near Alexandria, and consists chiefly of hills of sand piled on a base of calcareous stone. The eastern range, which verges towards the Red Sea, is more elevated and rocky, though, from its naked and barren aspect, it may be properly denominated a desert. The basis of Egypt, from Syene to the Mediterranean, is a continued bed of a whitish, soft, calcareous stone, containing such shells as are found in the contiguous seas; and of the same stone the mountains are composed. Beyond these mountainous ridges, arid deserts expand on every side; but though the fierce and wandering tribes

which inhabit them have often been subject to Egypt, their territories at an early period formed no part of its proper domain. An ancient quarrel between Egypt and Libya, concerning their boundaries, was referred to the decision of the oracle of Ammon, which restricted the Egyptian territories to the region inundated by the Nile. The authority of the oracle, however, has passed away, and as the Libyan tribes have dwindled into insignificance, the name of Egypt may with propriety be applied to those sterile districts which on the east stretch along the Red Sea as high as the latitude of Syene, which extend towards Nubia on the south, and Cyrene on the west, and acknowledge a very precarious subjection to any power.

Egypt lies between the 48th and 53d degrees of longitude, and the 24th and 33d degrees of north latitude. The bare and unsheltered surface of the country, and its small elevation above the level of the sea, combining with its exposure to the rays of a vertical sun, render it much warmer than many countries in the same latitude. The hot season continues from March to November; and during this period, while the sun remains above the horizon, the atmosphere is inflamed, the sky is cloudless and sparkling, and the heat is rendered supportable only by the profuse perspiration which it excites. In summer the

medium heat at Cairo is from 90° to 92°, and in winter from 58° to 60°; the difference between the greatest degrees of heat and cold seldom exceeding thirty degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. On some occasions, however, it has been known to rise to 112°; but such an uncommon heat is generally of short continuance, and occurs most frequently in the Sahid. * At sunset the winds fall, the temperature of the air becomes cooler, and the superabundant humidity, which the heat exhaled, but could not elevate in the atmosphere, is again deposited in the form of dew. As the evening descends, a thin mist veils the horizon, and broods over the watery grounds, but in the darkness it becomes scarcely perceptible, and in the morning, when the sun rises, quickly disperses in flaky clouds. Nor are the clouds always dispelled by the action of the sun's rays; for the atmosphere sometimes appears loaded, and exhibits all the meteorological symptoms which indicate rain in other climates,

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* The mean heat at Cairo, during the different months, is thus given, according to Reaumur's thermometer, by Cotte, an accurate meteorologist: Number of observations in the day, three. January 11° 0′—February 10° 9′—March 14° 5′—April 16° 5′—May 20° 5′—June 22° 7′—July 23° 7′—August 24° 2′—September 21° 6′—October 19° 4′—November 17° 4′—December 12° 5′——Mean heat of the year 17° 9′.—*Journal de Physique, July* 1791.

without any alteration of weather ensuing. The phenomena of the winds, so variable in our climate, are in Egypt regularly periodical. In point both of duration and strength, the northerly wind predominates. As it blows about nine months in the year, the branches of the trees, and the trunks themselves, when unsheltered, assume its direction. It continues with little intermission from the end of May till the end of September. About the end of September, when the sun repasses the line, the wind returns to the east, where it fluctuates till November, when the northerly winds again prevail. About the end of February, the winds assume a southerly direction, and fluctuate exceedingly till the close of April, when the east wind begins to predominate. The southerly winds are the most inconstant, as well as pernicious; traversing the arid sands of Africa, uninterrupted by rivulets, lakes, or forests, they arrive in Egypt fraught with all the noxious exhalations of the desert. At their approach, the serene sky becomes dark and heavy; the sun loses its splendour, and appears of a dim violet hue; a light warm breeze is perceived, which gradually increases in heat, till it almost equals that of an oven. Though no vapour darkens the air, it becomes so grey and thick with the floating clouds of impalpable sand, that it is sometimes necessa-

ry to light candles at noon-day.* Every green leaf is soon shrivelled, and every thing formed of wood is warped and cracked. The effect of these winds on animated bodies is equally pernicious, and when they blow in sudden squalls, they sometimes occasion immediate death. Respiration becomes quick and difficult, the pores of the skin are closed, and a feverish habit is induced by suppressed perspiration. The ardent heat pervades every substance, and the element of water, divested of its coolness, is rendered incapable of mitigating the intolerable sensation excited. Dead silence reigns in the streets; the inhabitants, by confining themselves to their houses, vainly attempt to elude the showers of fine penetrating dust, which, according to the Oriental expression, will enter an egg through the pores of the shell. These are the hot winds of the desert, termed by the Arabs *simoom*, and by the Turks *samiel*. They are frequently denominated *the winds of fifty days*, because they prevail chiefly between Easter and Whitsuntide, or during the fifty days at the period of the equinox. When they continue longer than three days, their heat becomes insupportable, and peculiarly injurious to persons of a plethoric habit.†

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* Antes' Observations on Egypt, p. 94.

† Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria, Vol. I. p. 62.

These winds, in spring so destructive by their heat, are in winter, from the beginning of December to the end of January, distinguished only by their intense and penetrating cold. While the sun is in the southern tropic, his rays fall more obliquely on the desert, and the current of air which descends on Egypt is tempered by the snowy mountains of Abyssinia. Sudden or violent squalls are unfrequent on the coast, from the regularity of the temperature, which prevents any rapid rarefaction or condensation. The northerly and westerly winds, denominated by the Arabs *the fathers of rain*, notwithstanding the humidity with which they are impregnated, seldom or never produce copious rains in Egypt. When this phenomenon occurs, it continues only a few minutes, and even then the rain seems to be obstructed in its descent. In the Delta it occurs only in winter, and above Cairo it is considered as a species of miracle. The phenomena of thunder and lightning are still more uncommon than rain, and so far divested of their terrific qualities, that the Egyptians are unable to associate with them the idea of destructive force, or to comprehend how they are ever productive of injury. Slight showers of hail, descending from the hills of Syria, and passing along the plains of Palestine, sometimes reach the confines of Egypt. The production of ice is so extremely uncommon, that once, when it appeared in Lower Egypt, the

Arabs collected it from the ditches in the vicinity of Alexandria, and brought it for sale to the European merchants.

Though the clouds which sometimes float over the level plain of Egypt never deposit a quantity of rain sufficient to fertilize the soil, yet, in a different form, they produce a luxuriant vegetation. Gliding over the flat country, from the surface of which they are repelled by the current of rarefied air, they are accumulated by the westerly winds on the lofty mountains of Abyssinia, where, refrigerated and condensed, they form the tropical rains, and, descending with the Nile, inundate the plain of Egypt. Upon this periodical inundation depends not only the annual fertilization of the soil, but the physical and political existence of the country. Were it not for this regular supply of water, only a very small quantity of land could be cultivated; and the failure of this source of fertility would quickly convert the rich valley of Egypt into a desert, marked only by its more horrid desolation. From the waters of the Nile, the soil not only imbibes the quantity of moisture necessary for vegetation, but is richly manured by the sediment which they deposit. Hence the veneration of the Egyptians for *the sacred river*, "which is blest in "the morning, and favoured of Heaven at night, "which rises and falls according to the course of "the sun and moon;" hence their extravagant

praises of its beauty, and their enthusiasm, which in every age has degenerated into a species of religious adoration. An European, however, will not compare the thick and muddy waters of the Nile to the limpid streams of his native country; nor will he who has seen the majestic rivers of the East be impressed with the grandeur of the greatest stream in Northern Africa. When the inundation subsides, the greatest breadth of the river of Egypt is about 2000 feet, and its motion exceeds not three miles in the hour. * The inundation commences about the 17th of June; the waters, which gradually rise, overflow their banks in the middle of August; they attain their utmost height in September, and from the end of that month gradually subside to the following solstice. The commencement of the inundation is extremely regular, but the period of its duration is more capricious, and the waters sometimes subside before the ground be thoroughly soaked.

After the annual inundation, the soil of Egypt is covered with a stratum of pure black mould of different degrees of density, proportional to the column of water by which it is deposited. This mould, or rather slime, is of an adhesive and unctuous

* Brown's Travels in Africa, &c. p. 65.

quality, has a strong affinity for water, and suffers contraction in the fire. By desiccation in the air, its colour is gradually changed from black to a yellowish brown. When subjected to chemical analysis, it is found to consist chiefly of alumine or pure clay, with a small quantity of silex; but the proportions of these ingredients vary according to the place where the slime is collected. * In the immediate vicinity of the Nile, it contains a considerable quantity of siliceous sand, which being most ponderous, is soonest deposited. This mud is so tenacious, that a considerable intermixture of sand increases its fertility; and hence the soil derives some advantage from the rapid winds of the south, which convey the sand in immense clouds from the desert to mingle with the slime of the Nile.

As the waters of the river recede, the cultivation of the ground commences. If it has imbibed the requisite moisture, the process of agriculture is neither difficult nor tedious. The seed is scattered over the soft mould, and vegetation proceeds with extreme rapidity. To the activity of vegetation, the air, which is strongly impregnated with saline particles, contributes in an eminent degree.

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* According to Regnault's Analysis, the slime of the Nile, in 100 parts, contains 11 of water, 9 of carbon, 6 of oxyd of iron, 4 of silex, 4 of carbonate of magnesia, 18 of carbonate of lime, and 48 of alumine.—*Memoirs on Egypt*, p. 391.

If the ground has been only partially inundated, recourse is had to the process of irrigation, by which many species of vegetables may be raised, even in the dry season. Winter, or the cold season, extends from the end of November to the end of January. Spring commences about the beginning of February, when the fruit trees begin to blossom, and the atmosphere becomes gradually warmer. The period of summer is from the middle of June to the end of September; during the greatest part of which time the heat continues regular, the fields are parched like a desert, and no green leaf is seen which is not produced by artificial irrigation. Autumn, which may be considered as a continuation of summer, commences about the middle of October, when the intense heat begins to decrease, the leaves fall, and the Nile retires to its channel; and it continues to the end of November, when the country resembles a beautiful meadow, diversified with lively colours.

Such are the principal phenomena which characterize the climate of Egypt, a country in the very atmosphere of which nature seems to have adopted new and singular arrangements. In this country, distinguished by an uncommon regularity of the seasons, and of all the changes which a climate presents, these atmospherical phenomena were first investigated with philosophical accuracy. But though the observations of the ancient philosophers

of Thebes and Memphis, engraved on immense masses of granite, have defied the ravages of time, and the still more destructive hand of man, we can only view the characters with regret, and lament that a wise and learned nation may perish before the monuments of their existence pass away.

The general configuration of Egypt is that of a plain, inclining so gently, that it barely permits the waters of the Nile, in traversing it, to obey the laws of gravity. In the cultivated districts, the level is nearly uniform; and though the partial elevation of particular places exceeds the greatest height of the inundation, yet these are seldom beyond the reach of artificial irrigation. These slight elevations of the soil are generally produced by the irregularities of that immense stratum of calcareous stone which extends from Syene to the Mediterranean. This species of stone in Lower Egypt reaches from Alexandria to the Red Sea, in the vicinity of Suez. The mountains on the east of Cairo are chiefly composed of horizontal strata of freestone, and indurated argillaceous earth, containing various fossils, as petrified shells, agates, and crystallised masses of gypsum and ponderous spar. * In the parallel of the Thebaid, the low ranges of hills, which run between the Nile and the Red Sea, are chiefly composed of marble, por-

* Magasin. Encyclop. Vol. XXXII.

phyry, and granite. The direction of the rocks of granite is commonly from north to south, and the immense blocks, of which they are composed, sometimes approach towards regular stratification. The granite is red, and marked with dusky spots. The surface exposed to the air granulates into a species of brownish sand, by the appearance of which, it is readily distinguished from the porphyry, into which it often graduates. Porphyry, of both the red and green species, is found in immense masses, but its rocks are not so numerous as those of granite. It often graduates into the green unvariegated marble, which is hard and brittle, where it meets the porphyry. The green marble, according to Bruce,* is often intermixed with veins of a yellowish and bluish coloured marble, and with jasper of the most beautiful kinds. The jasper is green, pellucid, and cloudy, but inferior in hardness to rock-crystal. This mineral, termed *siberget*, and *bilur*, by the native Bedouins, and *zumrud* by the Moors, seems to be the same which was denominated smaragdus by the Greeks and Latins. The verde antico, of a dark green colour, marked with irregular white, is found in the hills of green marble which lie nearest the Nile. The Egyptian pebble, a stone of the siliceous order, remarkable for the variety and

* Bruce's Travels, Vol. I. p. 187.

brilliancy of the colours with which it is streaked, is commonly found in a basis of calcareous stone.

The external soil, or vegetable mould of Egypt, exhibits no similarity to the soil in any of the contiguous countries. Herodotus remarked, that the soil of Egypt was fat, black, and crumbling, though the earth of Libya was red and sandy, and the mould of Syria a strong clay intermixed with stones. Such is the physical structure of Egypt, where the Nile, as if fatigued with the boundless solitude of the Nubian deserts, seems to have selected a sequestered valley, more savage than the rest, to adorn it with the richest gifts of nature. The rich black clay of Abyssinia being transported thither by the river, a fertile island arose in the midst of deserts, and the sediment accumulating in a narrow gulf of the Mediterranean, at last created an impenetrable morass, covered with canes and reeds. This is the Egyptian Delta, concerning the origin of which so many disputes have been agitated, and which, as it involves a difficult geological problem, will probably continue a subject of discussion for many centuries.

Besides the obvious division of Egypt into the Upper and Lower Districts, there is another of great antiquity, to which there are numerous references in ancient authors; that of the Delta, Heptanomis, and Thebaid. According to this division, the Delta occupied the coast of the Me-

diterranean; the Thebaid the narrow valley of Upper Egypt; while the intermediate region was denominated Heptanomis, *the province of the seven cantons*, or, according to Dionysius Periegetes, Heptapolis, *the province of the seven cities*. At a later period, when Egypt formed a Roman province, the district of Arcadia corresponded nearly to the ancient Heptanomis; and about the conclusion of the fourth century, the eastern division of Lower Egypt, between Arabia and the Phatmetic branch of the Nile, as high as Heliopolis, was erected into a new province, under the name of Augustamnica. In modern times, the Arabic division of Sahid corresponds to the ancient Thebiad, Vostani to the Heptanomis, and Bahri, or the maritime province, to the Delta. The latter province is denominated Rif by Abulfeda, Errif by Leo, and Rifa by the early voyagers of Europe, who frequented the Red Sea; which terms have the same signification as Bahri. Bahri is again divided into three districts, Bahirè, the Bechria of Leo, which extends from the Nile of Rosetta to the west of Tolometa, the Cyrenian Ptolemais, a part of which is sometimes denominated Muggrebin, the western country; Sharkiè, or Sharkin, the eastern district, which comprehends the ancient Augustamnica, and the barren region on the Red Sea, termed Saracene by Leo; and Garbié, which lies between the Nile of Rosetta

and that of Damietta. As the ancient subdivision of Egypt into nomes or cantons is involved in great obscurity, perhaps the opinion of St Cyril, that every Egyptian town, with its environs and dependencies, originally composed a nome, may be adopted as the most probable. The names of the cities of Egypt, of its lakes, and of the branches of the Nile, have been so frequently altered and corrupted by the different nations who have conquered the country, that it is impossible to recognise any certain traces of their ancient denominations. The cities which flourished during the different periods of Egyptian glory, during the Persian, Grecian, Roman, Christian, and Saracen dynasties, have not only been erected on the ruins of more ancient edifices, but in the Turkish and Mameluk periods, their sites have been partially changed, cities celebrated in history are buried in their own ruins, and the traveller searches for them in vain within the circuit of their ancient walls. The proper sea-coast of Egypt, reaching along the Mediterranean from the Plinthine bay to the lake Sirbonis, in the vicinity of Mount Casius, comprehends an extent of 201 G. miles.* In the vicinity of the Plinthine bay is the position of Taposiris, the tower of the Arabs, or Abusir; the Niciæ

* Rennell's Geograph. System of Herodotus, p. 522.

Pagus of Strabo was placed a little to the eastward, and between its position and Alexandria was the site of the Chersonesus Parva of Ptolemy. Marcia, the Palæmaria of Ptolemy, placed by Herodotus on the confines of Egypt and Libya, coincides with the modern Mariout on the north of the lake Mareotis. The lake Marcotis, probably at first an arm of the sea, occupied, in the time of Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, an extent of 60 miles in circuit, and extended towards the south-east more than 30 miles. Its banks were once covered with populous towns and villages; it communicated by different canals with the Canopic branch of the Nile, and in its vicinity was produced the celebrated Mareotic wine; but these canals have been long interrupted, the lake itself has disappeared, and instead of its ancient vines, its place is only marked by some scattered palms, and a degree of verdure slightly superior to that of the desert. To the eastward of Mariout lies the bay of Alexandria, about three leagues in breadth, and separated into two ports by the island Pharos, which is now connected with the continent. The country between the Plinthine bay and Alexandria has relapsed into its primitive sterility, and in various places exhibits the ruins of ancient cities, partially covered with sand, among which Taposiris, the Bosiri of Marmol, was, in the time of that author, distinguished by the superior grandeur of its remains. The geogra-

phical position of the Pharos, as determined by Quenot, is N. L. 31° 13′ 5″. From the encroachments of the sea on this island, the site of the modern tower does not indicate the situation of the ancient structure, which was supported on pillars of marble, the successive stories of which rose to an elevation of 400 feet. The ruins of this magnificent pile, the origin of which is enveloped in the same profound darkness that involves the monuments of the Thebaid, and which was reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, may be seen when the sea is calm, immersed in the waters.* The Pharos has been repeatedly destroyed and repaired, and its restorers have often aspired to the glory of the original founders. In the year 1320, it was overturned by an earthquake, and its place has been supplied by a square tower, equally devoid of ornament and elegance. Alexandria exhibits no vestiges of its former magnificence, except the ruins which surround it. An extensive plain, furrowed with trenches, pierced with wells, and divided by mouldering walls, is entirely covered with ancient columns, mutilated statues and capitals, and fragments of decayed battlements, which lie strewed amid modern tombs, and shaded by scattered nopals and palms. These ruins, which

* Pocock's Travels, Vol. I. 3.

probably occupy a much greater space than the city of Alexandria at any particular period of its most flourishing state, are of very remote antiquity, and greatly anterior to Alexander, as the hieroglyphics, with which they are covered, demonstrate.

The magnificence of Alexandria under the Grecian dynasty, was worthy of the fame of the hero from whom it derived its name. Built in the form of a long square, or, as it is termed by Strabo, a mantle or toga, it occupied a space of four leagues in circuit. As the long sides of the square were protected from the sea and the lake Mareotis, it presented such a narrow front on the sides accessible by land, that it formed a position of great strength. The buildings were grand and stately, their arrangement was strictly regular, and the great streets, which intersected each other at the central square of the city, were the most magnificent in the world. Under the Arabian dynasty, its splendour gradually declined with its commerce, to which the genius of fanaticism is always hostile. Though its population rapidly diminished, though its ancient walls were demolished, and contracted to half their original dimensions, it still preserved a part of its superb edifices and monuments; its streets were still arranged in the form of a chequer, and its former opulence was evinced by the slowness of its decay. At the period of the late French invasion, the walls of Alexandria

were of Arabic structure, formed of the ruins of the ancient city; they exhibited fragments of monuments, and concreted stony masses, consisting chiefly of fossil and sparry shells, irregularly united by a common cement. * From the neglect of the canals, and the encroachments of the sand, the city is now insulated in a desert, and exhibits few vestiges of those delightful gardens and cultivated fields, which continued even to the time of the Arabian conquest, and are described with such enthusiasm by Abulfeda. A few stunted sycamores mark the course of the canal of Lower Egypt, but the eye searches in vain for "the "banks covered with perpetual verdure, and the "stately date, whose pliant head, crowned with "pendent clusters, languidly reclines like that of "a beautiful woman overcome with sleep." † The soil becomes sterile and sandy, in proportion to the distance from the canal; and the district between Alexandria and Rosetta retains the same general character of barrenness, though interspersed at intervals with villages and cultivated spots of ground. Various magnificent ruins are scattered over this arid track, formerly adorned with populous cities, where we must look for the site of Nicopolis, of Zephyrium, and probably of Thonis, at an

* Sonnini's Travels, 4to, p. 77.

† Abulfedæ Descr. Ægypt. à Michaelis, p. 6.

early period of history the only port in Egypt open to commerce. Thonis is generally supposed to coincide in situation with Canopus, on the ruins of which is raised the village of Aboukir, at the distance of 14 miles from Alexandria. The site of Canopus, formerly as famous for the dissolute manners of its inhabitants as the Italian Sybaris, is marked by majestic ruins. It seems to have been founded later than the reign of Darius Hystaspes; for by Scylax, his contemporary, it is described as a desert island. It is said to have derived its name from Canopus, an ancient Egyptian king, who died there of a loathsome disease.* He is represented in a black shroud, with a cap closely fitted to his head. About three miles to the east of Aboukir, a lagoon of fresh water, which communicates with the Nile only at the time of the inundation, indicates the termination of the ancient Canopic branch of the river. Heracleum, as appears from its ruins, was situated about half a league to the east of the Canopic mouth. The Nile of Canopus, when it varied its original channel, and approached nearer this city, was sometimes termed the Heraclean branch. Verging more and more towards the east, it formed at last so deep a curve, that a canal was opened to the sea, for which the river soon deserted its more

* Etymolog. Magnum, ap. Ἐλένειον.

westerly channel of Canopus. From Bolbitinum, a city mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus, the ruins of which exist, a little above Rosetta, this artificial channel derived the name of the Bolbitine branch of the Nile. By Ptolemy it is denominated Tali. Rosetta, according to Niebuhr, situated in N. L. 31° 24′, is of Arabic origin, oblong and irregular, without walls or fortress. It was founded, according to Elmacin, in 870. The Nile of Rosetta is about 16 miles distant from the Canopic mouth, and is threatened with a similar fate, as its channel, from the accumulation of sand, is very dangerous to mariners, having scarcely six feet of water on the bar. The position of the ancient Metelis is about eight miles above Rosetta, at the separation of the Bolbitine and Canopic branches of the Nile. The country in the vicinity of Rosetta is the most beautiful and fertile in Egypt, and exhibits considerable diversity of scenery, considering the uniform aspect of the soil. No romantic views, no sublime mountains, no picturesque declivities, relieve the uniformity of the plain; but the red desert on the west, with the barren hillocks of sand, is finely contrasted with the green rice fields, the tufted sycamores, the orange groves, and the yellow flowers of the cassia. Twenty miles above Rosetta, on the banks of the Nile, is situated Fouah, which rivalled Rosetta in commerce, and was superior to it in wealth, so

long as the Canopic branch continued navigable. In the fifteenth century, when the naturalist Belon travelled in Egypt, it was inferior only to Cairo; but it now yields to Rosetta, both in size and population. On the western bank of this branch are situated Deirut, Rahmany, and Teranè.

The district on the west of the Canopic branch of the Nile, partakes of the character of the Libyan desert, and is inferior in fertility to the Delta. The soil is more parched and sandy, and the fields of beautiful vegetation, covered with the blossoms of the bean and cotton plant, gradually mingle with the sands of the desert. Receding from the Nile, the regions of sand and rock, entirely devoid of vegetable earth, commence, and the ground rises, by an easy ascent, first into acclivities, then into hills, and at last terminates in mountains. A stratum of fine moving sand, in which animals sink as they pass over it, first appears, which consolidates as the ground ascends, and is interspersed with agates and pebbles of jasper, till the sand entirely disappears, and the plains of loose shivery stones occupy the summits of the hills. In these plains are various spots covered with vitrifiable stones of a reddish grey colour, strongly fixed in the ground, with their sharp points projecting above its surface. Between the interstices of the stony strata, and in the less elevated situations between the hills, where the sand is not so much attenuated

as to be incapable of retaining the dew, a few slender hardy shrubs, almost bare of foliage, creep along the ground, and produce as many thorns as leaves. When these shrubs cluster together, they form dismal solitary warrens, where the hares feed, and to which the antelopes, and zebus or wild oxen, retreat. On these level eminences, no other plants grow, but the shrivelled nitraria and hyoscyamus, and the prospect is diversified only by the projections of the calcareous rock which emerge at very distant intervals. Such is the appearance of the level but elevated plain, of nearly thirty miles in breadth, which separates the valley of the Nile from that of the lakes of natron. The west wind, which blows here with great violence, has driven the loose sands of these eminences into the valley of the Nile. At the distance of four leagues from this ridge, another chain of eminences runs parallel to the first, forming in the intermediate space a deep valley, furrowed with narrow and savage ravines. The declivity of the eastern ridge, which descends into this valley, is in some places abrupt,* and in others covered with loose sand. The watery expanse of the lakes, the vivid green colour of the plants which grow on their banks, and the reeds which wave on their surface, are finely contrasted

* Sonnini's Travels, 4to, p. 337.

with the dazzling white of the masses of natron, and the grey dusky gravel of the desert. These lakes are frequented by the cameleon, the antelope, and vast numbers of aquatic fowls, among which the flamingo is remarkable for the brilliancy of its plumage.

The natron lakes, which are seven in number, are separated by banks of sand. In the dry season, they shrink into small detached ponds, but when the water rises highest, they are united in one great lake, which occupies a space of six leagues in length, and covers the whole breadth of the valley. When the water retires, and the lakes separate, the ground which is exposed is covered with a saline sediment, which hardens in the sun, crystallizes, and forms the natron. The thickness of the saline stratum varies with the period of the inundation, and where it is of short continuance, the natron appears only as a slight efflorescence, like flakes of snow. The water is sometimes covered with this saline substance; and Granger relates, that, at the end of August, when he visited these lakes, the superficial crust was sufficiently consolidated to allow his camels to pass over its surface. The inundation of the salterns of Nitria corresponds with the subsiding of the Nile, and, on that account, the rise of their waters is, by the modern Egyptians, attributed to the operation of the river.

This opinion is of great antiquity; for Pliny, who frequently confounds concomitancy and causation, asserts, that the Nile inundates the lakes of Nitria, as the sea overflows a lake of salt water: but the nature of the phenomenon renders this solution improbable. The springs which supply these lakes originate in the eastern side of the valley towards the Nile; but if they were derived by filtration from that river, the inundation of the natron lakes would correspond to that of the Nile. If these springs, however, originate in the desert, their overflowing, as Sonnini suggests, may be attributed to the local rains, which fall after the inundation of the Nile, when the heat of the summer solstice is abated. The water of the lakes is tinged with the hue of blood by the natron, the incrustration of which, in some places, spreads over the chalky bottom. Around the borders of the lakes, the ground is impregnated with saline particles, and the sand in some places is covered, to a considerable distance from the water, with a hardened layer of natron. The banks of the lakes are hollowed into small channels, through which rivulets descend, and, in the rainy season, carry down to the lake the earth of the declivity, impregnated with saline substances. The vegetables which grow in the vicinity of the lakes are chiefly the flat stemmed reed, and the tamarisk, with a few stunted palms, which, in that arid soil, run into barren bushes. The saline sub-

stances with which the water of the lakes is impregnated are the muriate, the carbonate, and the sulphate of soda. The last substance is only found in small quantities, but the others predominate in their turns, according to the nature of the springs, and the quality of the adjacent soil. In this immense natural laboratory of soda, the original substance from which the natron is formed, according to Berthollet, is common sea salt. According to the Arabs, the soil impregnated with natron extends to the distance of twenty days' journey into the desert. The season of collecting this substance is in the month of August, in the interval between seed-time and harvest. The natron trade was formerly engrossed by the inhabitants of the canton of Teranè, who annually collected about twenty-five thousand quintals, the greater part of which was exported to Venice, France, and England.

The use of natron ascends to a very high antiquity. Pliny, who prefers the Macedonian to the Egyptian, on account of its superior purity and clearness of colour, celebrates its numerous medical virtues, and relates, that, when liquified with sulphur, it was formed into vases. Near one of the lakes, the vestiges of a manufactory of glass may still be traced, by the fragments of scoria, and the ruins of its furnaces. Perhaps a more favourable situation could not have been selected for procuring the two materials of glass, soda, and vitrifiable sand.

To the west of Nitria, and extending in the same direction, lies the valley of the river without water, denominated by the Arabs, Bahar Bela Ma, which is conjectured to have formed the communication between the lakes Mœris and Mareotis, and is separated from the valley of Nitria by a ridge of calcareous stone, covered with sand. As this valley forms the western barrier of Egypt, all vegetation is choked, and the soil is encumbered with banks of the sand which it intercepts, as it is drifted from the interior of Africa. By impeding the progress of this moving desolation, and rendering the incessant agency of the wind less dangerous, it has preserved the cultivated banks of the Nile from destruction, and permitted the natives, who attribute this effect to the talismanic power of the Sphinx of the Pyramids, to enjoy their dreams of superstitious credulity. In some places, however, the progress of the sands is marked in a picturesque manner, by the large and beautiful sycamores, originally rooted in the alluvial soil, which wither in solitary grandeur on the arid downs, now covered with sand. In the valley of the dry river, various kinds of stones are found, which appear to have been brought from the primitive mountains of Upper Egypt; as silex and siliceous stones, gypsum, quartz, and quartzose crystallizations, geodes, jasper, and Egyptian pebbles. But the most curious production of the valley is the petrified wood in which it abounds.

Andreossi found some entire trees, eighteen paces in length, in a state of petrifaction. In most instances, the wood is changed into agate; but where the crystallization is more imperfect, that part which formed the substance of the wood exhibits a scaly texture, invested with a hard external envelope. Here Andreossi likewise found the vertebræ of a large fish, which appeared to be mineralized. Sicard asserts, that in this valley he observed entire masts of ships, and the wrecks of vessels, petrified; but his relation is not confirmed by Andreossi.

The magnitude of the valley of the dry river, its direction towards Feium, and the apparent connection with the lake Mœris, strongly support the ancient tradition, that the river Nile, or a part of its waters, formerly flowed through these deserts, along the valleys of Nitria and the dry river. The alluvial soil of the district of Mariout, on the west of Alexandria, corroborates this opinion. Beyond the valley of the dry river, the inhabitants of the district of Teranè sometimes advance three days' journey into the desert, to cut a particular species of rushes, which are used in constructing the finest mats.

The only buildings in the desert of Nitria are a few Coptic monasteries, the recluse inhabitants of which are equally savage with their own solitudes. An enclosure of lofty walls, of red hue and naked aspect, forms the exterior part of the monastery,

within which a small fort is constructed, surrounded by a trench, which is passed by means of a drawbridge. Within this fort is a cistern, a deposit of provisions, and a church, which the superstitious monks reckon no less necessary than a magazine for sustaining the blockade of the Arabs, by which they are occasionally menaced. On account of the roving hordes which frequent the desert, the exterior wall of the monastery is constructed with a little wicket, instead of a gate, which is never opened without extreme precaution. In the upper part of the exterior wall, a platform is constructed, with loop-holes and small masked bastions. Within the exterior enclosure is a small garden, in which the monks cultivate some esculent plants, with a few dates and olives. The libraries of these monasteries contain few valuable manuscripts; consisting chiefly of ascetic treatises in the Arabic, Syriac, and Coptic languages. The frightful solitudes of Nitria have in every age been the chosen retreats of monastic seclusion. The dreary aspect of the desert, and its silent solitude, fostered a misanthropic turn of mind. The sweetest attributes of humanity, and the play of the kind affections, were resigned for a morose austerity, which soon degenerated into a sullen and ferocious gloom. In dreary excavated cells, of so small a size that they were scarcely capable of containing the human body, they lived immured from society, and sub-

jected themselves to the most dreadful penances. Having acquired a slight tincture of Christianity, in the first centuries after its promulgation, they did not renounce their ascetic practices, but exhibited the first examples of the spirit of monachism. In the fourth century, the desert of Nitria swarmed with recluse penitents, and received a new appellation from St Macarius, who fixed his residence amid its solitudes. Acquiring in these dreary wastes the temper of ferocious animals, when they emerged from their deserts at the call of religious contention, their excesses filled Egypt with consternation and dismay. Since that period their religious tenets have varied, but their habits have still continued coarse and barbarous, and their dispositions have received little amelioration.

From the savage deserts of Nitria, we turn with pleasure to contemplate the fertile and beautiful province of Garbiè, the maritime part of which extends from Rosetta to Damietta. The soil of this district is not only more fertile than any other quarter of the Delta, but the ground is more level, and more frequently intersected by canals. The vestiges of cultivation are more numerous and diversified in their appearance, and the orange and lemon trees grow in irregular groves by the side of the pomegranate and anana. Through vistoes of palms, which raise their heads above other trees, the

slender turrets of cities are discerned. The number of inhabitants in this fertile district bears no proportion to its ancient population.

The vestiges, however, of ruined cities in the Garbiè, are neither so numerous nor important as in some other provinces of Egypt. The difficulty of procuring materials for building has induced the natives to deface their ancient monuments; many of them are concealed by the accumulation of sand and mud, and others are destroyed by the superstition of the inhabitants. *

From the mouth of the Nile to Cape Brulos, or Berelos, the extreme point of the Delta, the soil is sandy and barren, and it preserves the same character in that low and narrow ridge which separates the lake Butos, or Brulos, from the sea. This extensive lake, near the extremity of the Delta, enclosed within the main land by a long narrow ridge of sand, marks the imperfect consolidation of that alluvial district. Between this lake and the Canopic branch of the Nile, the Milesian wall was drawn by the Ionian Greeks, who had been permitted to settle at Naucratis. In the city of Butos was an

* According to Volney, the ruins of cities and temples are not the only monuments which suffer by the barbarism of the Egyptians. It is only about twenty years since above one hundred volumes, written in an unknown language, were discovered near Damietta, and immediately burned by the command of the Sheiks of Cairo.

oracle of Latona,* in a temple remarkable for its magnificence. The shrine, composed of one enormous mass of granite, about sixty feet square, was hewn in a quarry in the island Philæ, near the cataracts of the Nile, and brought down the river on rafts, to the distance of two hundred leagues. This work of immense labour is characteristic of the genius of the men who built the pyramids. In the time of Herodotus, "the great Butos" stood upon the Sebennitic branch of the Nile. This branch seems either to have varied its course, or to have been divided into different channels; for, according to Strabo, it falls into the sea at the extreme point of the Delta, which is about thirty G. miles distant from the Nile of Rosetta. Sais, the Sah of Edrisi and of the modern Egyptians, and formerly the metropolis of Lower Egypt, was situated about eight miles from Naucratis. It was celebrated for a famous temple of Minerva. On the eastern side of this province, the more considerable towns are situated along the Nile of Damietta; but the populous and flourishing cities of the Egyptian, Grecian, and Arabian periods, only exhibit the wrecks of their former greatness. Busiris retains its ancient name, but preserves no vestiges of the splendour it displayed, when the shrine of Isis attract-

* Strabo, Casaubon. p. 1151.

ed prodigious numbers of people to celebrate the festivals of the goddess. Sebennytus, the modern Semenûd, from which a branch of the Nile formerly derived its name, is situated below Busiris; but both these ancient cities are eclipsed by the modern Mehalla, the capital of Garbiè. To the west of Sebennytus is a large mound, covered with ruins, which D'Anville supposes to mark the site of the city Isis. Among the ruins, the remains of a magnificent temple of Isis are remarkable for the purity of taste which they display, and the elegance of their sculptures. Mansura is situated at the separation of the Mendesian branch of the Nile from that of Damietta. It was originally an intrenched camp of the Arabs, when they besieged Damietta,* and was rendered illustrious by the misfortunes of the crusaders under St Louis. Damietta, the emporium of commerce between Egypt and Syria, is situated on the Phatmetic branch of the Nile, and, according to Niebuhr, in N. L. 31° 25'. The city is without walls, and is built in the form of a crescent, on the winding bank of the river, at the distance of six miles from the sea. The adjacent country on both sides of the Nile is beautiful and fertile, though it participates in the tameness of Egyptian scenery. The exuberant soil produces,

* Abulfedæ Descript. Ægypt. p. 51. Vid. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. ad Verb. Mansoura.

in lavish profusion, fruits and flowers all the year round. The adjacent villages are surrounded with groves, where the elegant cassia displays its clusters of yellow flowers, beside the sycamore, the date, and the melancholy tamarind. The rivulets which intersect the fields of rice, are lined with different kinds of reeds, whose narrow leaves and white flowers produce a very picturesque effect. In the vicinity of Damietta, the ancient papyrus vegetates luxuriantly, and rises to the height of nine feet. In the marshes and canals, the mystic lotus, which the Arabs denominate Nuphar, raises its lofty stalk above the waters, like the king of aquatic plants, and expands its large calyx of an azure blue or brilliant white colour. The Nile of Damietta, at its greatest breadth, seldom exceeds seven hundred yards, and sometimes contracts itself to one hundred, while its depth varies from three to twenty-four feet. Though situated on one of the chief branches of the Nile, Damietta is not mentioned by any writer of high antiquity. Tamiathis is indeed mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus, as the name of a city of Egypt; but it is conjectured that he applied this denomination to the district of Tamieh in Upper Egypt. It is, however, certain, that the modern town is built at a greater distance from the mouth of the river than the ancient city, which was the scene of so many obstinate conflicts between the crusaders and the Arabs. After the

departure of St Louis, the Arabs being menaced with a new invasion, apprehensive that the city was fated to be the constant scene of war, razed it to the ground. A new city arose at some distance, and was at first termed Manchiè, but afterwards acquired the ancient appellation. The mouth of this branch of the Nile is rendered dangerous to mariners by sand-banks or bars, which are denominated *bogas*. The Phatmetic mouth of the Nile is distant from the Sebennitic about thirty-two G. miles.

The province of Sharkiè, adjacent to the Nile of Damietta, is rich and fertile, but not so uniform in the quality of its soil as the district of Garbiè. Towards the shore, the consolidation of the alluvial territory appears to be incomplete, and the surface consists of a series of ridges, intersected with marshes and lagoons. The great lake Menzala, the Tanis of the ancients, extends about sixty miles, between Damietta and Pelusium, either as a continued surface of water, or as a morass, intersected with banks and ridges. The water of the lake is fresh at the period of the overflowing of the Nile, but during the rest of the year is rendered salt or brackish by its communication with the sea. * It contains various islands, which still exhibit the ruins of towns and cities, and Edrisi

* Geographia Nubiensis Edrisii, Paris, 1619, p. 103.

mentions the names of Nable, Tuna, Samna, and Hesn-Almai, all of which could only be approached by water. As these ruins emerge considerably above the level of the surrounding water, the natives in the vicinity of the lake give them the appellation of mountains. The isles, which are nearly level with the water, are barren, uncultivated, and void of every species of vegetation, except marine plants. The water of the lake is extremely phosphorescent; the bottom consists of clay, mingled with sand, mud, slime, and shells; and, in some places, is covered with moss and reeds. As it communicates both with the sea and the Nile, it abounds with sea and river fish, and is the resort of innumerable aquatic fowls. The lake Menzala, towards the land, assumes the form of two large gulfs, divided by a promontory, while their basins are separated from the sea by a low and narrow bank, which seems to have been accumulated by the lateral action of the current that sets along the shore of the Delta. The lake communicates with the sea by two channels, which are supposed to represent the Mendesian and Tanitic mouths of the Nile. The first is situated at the distance of twenty-one G. miles from the Phatmetic mouth, or that of Damietta; while the Tanitic or Saïtic mouth lies about seventeen G. miles beyond it. The Medesian branch of the Nile, which enters the lake

is supposed to correspond to the canal of Mansura; and Andreossi imagines, that the canal of Moez, which overflows the province of Sharkiè, represents the course of the Tanitic branch. The openings of the lake which communicate with the sea are shut up by shallow bars, which are only pervious to light vessels. Andreossi observed two other communications with the sea, which were closed by factitious mounds. The narrow bank, or stripe of land which separates the lake from the sea, and extends from Damietta to Pelusium, lies extremely low, remains uncultivated, and, like the shores of the lake, is in some places covered with marine plants.

Menzala, from which the lake derives its name, is a small ruinous town, situated on a promontory which projects into the lake from the Delta, between the two semicircular gulfs which it forms towards the land. At the extremity of this promontory lie the populous islands of Matharia, inhabited by a ferocious race of fishermen, who form a separate class, and have little intercourse with the other Egyptians, whom they prohibit from fishing in the lake. The ruins of San, or Tanis, are situated upon the canal of Moez, about two leagues before it falls into the lake. The territory adjacent to Menzala is fertile and populous on the side of Damietta, but towards Pelusium becomes

gradually sterile, till it runs into a barren desert. The Pelusiac outlet of the Nile lies about twenty-three G. miles to the east of the Tanitic opening. The ancient city of Pelusium was situated in a marshy district, which, at an early period, was notorious for being the haunt of robbers. As it commanded the entrance of Egypt on the Syrian side, it was strongly fortified by the native Egyptian kings; and, at the time when Egypt was conquered by Cambyses, a strong rampart extended between this city and Heliopolis, over a space of nearly ninety miles. The extremity of the lake Menzala consists of a series of shallow and impervious marshes, similar to those jungles of reeds which are so frequent in eastern countries. The Arabian Farama was situated below Pelusium, at the mouth of the river, in N. lat. 30° 48′. It was destroyed in the wars of the crusades. The Coptic name of this city is Baram; in which appellation we may perhaps recognise the Paremphis of Stephanus Byzantinus. Catieh, the ancient Casium, situated under Mount Casius, at the distance of about twenty-nine G. miles from Pelusium, forms the extreme boundary of Egypt. The eastern division of the Sharkiè is arid and sterile, having been gradually reduced to a desert by the neglect, and the consequent failure of the Pelusian branch of the Nile. At the most early period of history, this eastern branch appears

to have been the most considerable; and, by its waters, fertilized the sandy districts which border on the Red Sea. Assuming an eastern direction at the head of the Delta, its stream, descending to the sea, supplied numerous canals; but, through a long series of ages, it has been gradually becoming shallow. Except at the period of the inundation, it has now lost the appearance of a river; and the green districts of Goshen, in ancient times so abundant in pasturage, are converted into parched and sterile wastes. The principal towns in the eastern part of the Sharkiè are Belbeis and Salahia, the first of which contains about five thousand inhabitants, and the other is supposed to exceed it in population. Suez, from which the narrow isthmus that connects Asia with Africa derives its name, is situated in N. lat. 30° 2', near the extremity of that shallow gulf in which the Red Sea terminates. Though the emporium of Arabian commerce, the difficulty of procuring subsistence has prevented it from attaining importance as a city, and reduced it to a mere military station. It is supplied with water from a brackish spring on the Arabian coast, situated at the distance of three hours' journey, in the small Oasis of Honareb. Fuel, and every kind of provisions, are brought from the fertile districts of Egypt. The gradual retrocession of the sea, which has rendered the harbours accessible only

to small boats, at high water, deprives Suez of the only advantage which could compensate so unfavourable a situation. The character of the surrounding scenery is of the most dreary and savage kind. Not the smallest appearance of verdure can be observed from the terraces of the city, but the eye travels heavily over the yellow sands and the pools of green water, to rest on the white rocks of Arabia. Adjacent to Suez, on the northern side, a heap of mouldered ruins marks the site of the ancient Clysma, the Kolzoum of the Arabs, from which the Red Sea has received its Arabic appellation. At the northern extremity of the gulf is the position of Arsinoe, which has long been rendered inaccessible to mariners, by impervious shoals formed in its vicinity. The loose texture of the low and sandy soil of the peninsula combines, with the action of the waves, to aid the formation of salt morasses; and the accumulation of sand on the banks of coral, which are numerous in the Red Sea, forms the most dangerous shoals. When the sea is unruffled, the coral banks, particularly on the Arabian shore, exhibit such appearances of beauty, as rival the splendid fictions of the ancients, concerning the palaces and groves of the Nereids beneath the waves. The promontory of Tor, a continuation of the ridge of Sinai, divides the extremity of the Red Sea into two deep gulfs. At the extremity of the

eastern or Elanitic gulf, Aila, from which it derives its name, was situated. Kolzoum is situated near the extremity of the larger gulf, which, in ancient authors, is commonly denominated that of Heroopolis. By the Arabic authors, both the cities of Kolzoum and Aila are included within the boundaries of Egypt. The retreat of the Red Sea, on the Arabian side, gradually increases the breadth of the isthmus; though the inaccurate accounts of the Grecian and Arabian geographers seem to support the opinion, that it has rather encroached upon the land in that quarter, than deserted it. Misled by the opinion, that Mount Casius and Heroopolis, a city near the bottom of the gulf, lay under the same meridian, though there be almost a degree of longitude between them, Herodotus and Ptolemy have extended the distance between Mount Casius and the head of the Arabian gulf, to eighty-three instead of sixty-four G. miles. From the respective latitudes of Suez and Farama, the ancient Pelusium, the nearest distance between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean appears to be about forty-eight G. miles. The intermediate space is a level plain, covered with shifting sand, which the eye traverses without interruption from sea to sea. The advantages which this situation presented for commercial pursuits, did not escape the observation of the ancients, and, at a very early period, a canal was

constructed, which connected the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. As the loose and sandy soil of the isthmus rendered it impracticable to form a permanent canal across its narrowest part on the western side, they availed themselves of the navigable channel of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, which they ascended towards the head of the Delta. On the eastern side, a canal was conducted from the gulf of Sŭez to the Pelusiac channel, from which it derived a stream of water. This was probably the river Ptolemæus of Pliny, that passed by Arsinoe, and was denominated Cleopatris by Strabo. From the circuitous direction of this line of inland navigation, the voyage, according to Herodotus, occupied the space of four days. The canal seems never to have continued permanently open for any considerable space of time, but to have been restored at intervals by different princes; and hence a confusion, in the various relations of historians, has been produced. Cairo, the capital of Egypt, which the natives denominate Misr, the Mistress of the World, and Misr without an equal, is situated on the eastern side of the Nile, which it touches by its suburbs Fostat and Bulac. Though the extent of Cairo, its vast population, and the diversity of dress, language, manners, and features which its inhabitants exhibit, cannot fail to produce a powerful impression upon the mind of an European; yet this impression

cannot be compared with the idea of its ancient glory, when it was the metropolis of Africa, the second capital of the east, the scene of the wonders of Arabian romance, and of the real incidents of Arabian history, scarcely more credible than those of Oriental fiction. From the castle of Cairo, founded on Mount Mokattam, the eye, at one view, commands a prospect of the immense crescent which the city forms. It surveys none of those public or private edifices which display the genius of the architect, none of those regular squares or uniform streets which mark the taste of a polished people, but, amid the confused multitude of houses, it attempts in vain to trace the direction of the streets, which are crooked and narrow. Vacant spaces appear at intervals, which are lakes at the inundation of the Nile, and gardens during the rest of the year. In September, the natives sail over the ground, which in April is covered with flowers and verdure. The city is surrounded by a multitude of tombs; it is without a pavement, and without walls; and the rubbish which has accumulated during a series of ages, rises in hillocks around it. The lofty minarets of the numerous mosques, are the only objects which interrupt the uniformity of the flat and terraced roofs. The houses, which consist of two or three stories, are for the most part composed of earth and brick, though, in some instances, a soft species of stone, of a fine

grain, is employed. As they receive no light from the streets, while the windows, even of the inner courts, are of small size, and few in number, they are, for the most part, dark and gloomy as prisons. The castle of Cairo, situated upon a steep and inaccessible rock, is about a quarter of a league in circumference, surrounded by strong walls, but commanded by the adjacent mountain. The two great suburbs of Cairo, which may with propriety be reckoned detached towns, are Bulac and Fostat, which is likewise denominated Misr Elattikè, the Ancient Misr, or Old Cairo. Bulac, the port of Cairo, is a long irregular town, on the western branch of the Nile. Fostat, or OldCairo, is the port of Upper Egypt, and situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, near the site of the ancient Babylon. On the western bank of the river, Giza, formerly a suburb of Fostat, is situated. Cairo lies in N. L. 30° 3′, and E. Long. 31° 20′.

Fostat was founded in the twentieth year of the Hegira, by Amrou the conqueror of Egypt, on the place where he pitched his camp, before advancing to the siege of Alexandria. According to Elmacin, it derived its name from the tent of the Arabian general, which he left in the spot where it had been pitched, that he might not destroy the young of a pigeon that had formed its nest in it. The origin of Grand Cairo is comparatively modern. It was founded in the year 969, by Jauhar,

general of Moaz, sovereign of Barbary, a prince of the Fatimite race. As the foundation of the town happened during the ascension of Mars, from the Arabic name of that planet, it was denominated Kahira, the Victorious. About two hundred years after its foundation, its population was increased by the addition of the inhabitants of Fostat, which city, on the approach of the crusaders, was set on fire by its weak prince Shuwar. The renowned Saladin, who retrieved the disasters of the Arabs, founded the castle of Cairo, and the walls which surround the city, about eight years after the destruction of Fostat.* Though Cairo has lost its former splendour, and the opulence it enjoyed before the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, its population is still considerable, and, in 1785, was estimated by Volney at two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. It is still the emporium of the trade of Eastern Africa, and maintains a considerable intercourse with Arabia, Morocco, and various districts of the Levant.

The traveller, ascending the Nile, soon after his departure from Cairo, approaches the narrowest part of the valley of Egypt, where the Arabian and Libyan mountains seem closing to prevent his

* Abulfedæ Excerpt. Hist. Univ. p. 23, ad fin. Bohadini Hist. Saladini à Schultens.

farther progress. At the intervals of the palm trees which cover the banks of the river, he is struck with the regularity of the immense rocky masses which emerge, in detached spaces, from the sandy plains of Libya, and is astonished to perceive that they exhibit the vestiges of human art. As he observes the solitary desert stretching beyond the Plain of the Pyramids, he seems to stand upon the confines of nature, and to contemplate the ruins of a former world, which the waters have spoiled. The enormous size of these ancient monuments, and the solidity of their structure, promise an eternal duration, an existence coëval with the everlasting mountains. They are visible at a great distance, and, as the traveller advances, seem to retire into the recesses of the desert. Their stupendous height, prodigious surface, and enormous solidity, strike the spectator with reverence and awe, as they recal the memory of distant ages. The situation of the principal pyramids is at the entrance of the *Plain of Mummies*, where the sepulchres of the ancient Egyptians, hewn out of the solid rock, are closed with stones of a large size, and covered with sand. The pyramids are distinguished by the names of the villages in their immediate vicinity, as Giza, Sakkara, and Dashur, and they extend, at intervals, along the sand-hills which skirt the banks of the Nile, from Giza to Medum, over a space of twenty-six G. miles. The rocky base on which

they are founded, is elevated about fifty feet above the level of the plain. On the western bank of the Nile, between the river and the line of pyramids which shuts up the entrance into the desert, the villages of Metrahenny and Mohanan mark the site of the ancient Memphis. These villages lie about nine G. miles above Fostat, in N. L. 29° 53′. They are surrounded by groves of palm trees, which conceal from observation the remains of that great city, of which the very ruins have almost perished. Besides the name of Menf, or Menouf, given by the Arabs to a position at which the ruins were visible to a late period, some vast shapeless mounds of rubbish, where the thistle springs luxuriantly, and canals lined with stone, but choked up with earth, are the only remains of the ancient Memphis, a city which was once about fourteen miles in circumference.* In these mounds, which chiefly appear on the extremities of the plain, some fragments of sculptured stones have been found; but there are no obelisks, no hieroglyphics, no superb monuments, no ruins of temples or public buildings, to mark the site of former magnificence. In a small lake, however, which contracts its surface when the waters of the Nile, in years of extreme drought, rise not to their ordinary height, more perfect and magnificent ruins have been dis-

* Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. § 2.

covered.* The ancient history of Memphis is not less obscure than its modern situation. Though inferior to Thebes in the fame of antiquity, its origin ascends to a very remote period beyond the limits of authentic history. Whether it was founded by Menes, as Herodotus relates, or by Uchoreus, according to Diodorus, it seems to have been the most ancient city of Lower Egypt. The Nile, emerging a little above Memphis, from the narrowest part of the valley, seems originally to have poured its stream into the vast morass of salt water, which occupied the place of Lower Egypt. Before its waters had formed to themselves a channel in this waste and unsteady plain, many ages probably elapsed; but soon after the ground began to assume a durable solidity, Memphis appears to have been founded. Situated at the head of the Delta, it was nearly surrounded by the Nile, which, dividing its stream above the city, passed to the east and to the west of its walls. At this period, the most considerable branch of the Nile seems to have flowed on the west of Memphis, towards that sterile district which lies on the west of Alexandria, where it was partly lost in brackish lakes, and partly dissipated in the deserts of sand, without contributing much to the fertilization of the country.

* Maillet's Description of Egypt, p. 274.

Menes, according to Herodotus,* the first sovereign of Egypt, by erecting an immense mound on the west of Memphis, forced the waters of the river to abandon the western, and occupy the eastern channel. The remains of this mound were observed by Pococke, who describes a great causeway of one thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, formed of hewn stone, which extended across a hollow part of the country, and terminated about a mile to the N. E. of the pyramids.†

The Nile being excluded from one of its channels, did not long contain its waters within the other, but following its ancient tendency towards the west, which it derived from the inclination of the soil, again separated in the vicinity of Heliopolis, where it formed a new Delta, stretching farther to the east, but on the western side inferior in extent to the ancient Delta. This variation of the apex of the Delta, from Memphis to Heliopolis, introduced such a degree of confusion into the relations of historians, as has rendered it difficult to ascertain the position of Memphis, though that city flourished to a late period. From its central situation, it was equally adapted for becoming the capital of a powerful kingdom, and the emporium of an extensive commerce. The

* Herodot. Euterpe, 99.

† Pococke's Travels, Vol. I. p. 12.

ancient monarchs of Egypt deserted Thebes, and her hundred gates, to reside in this new capital, around which soon arose the pyramids, the proudest monuments of antiquity. Memphis flourished for many ages, and even survived the ravages of the Persian Cambyses. The founding of Alexandria was the first incident fatal to its greatness, and the capital of Middle Egypt began to experience the fate of Thebes. In the reign of Augustus, Memphis, though deserted by many of its inhabitants, still continued the second city of Egypt, a rank which it seems to have maintained till its final destruction by the Arabs under Amrou. After a long and obstinate defence, it was taken by storm, rased to the ground, and the name of Misr, by which it was known to the Arabs, transferred to Fostat. * At some distance, above the province of Feium, the ancient Crocodilopolis, afterwards denominated Arsinoe, commences. Here the western mountainous ridge, which accompanies the course of the Nile from the cataracts, suddenly bends towards the desert, and returning, forms in its bosom an immense basin, containing the lake Mœris, which Strabo describes with a degree of enthusiasm, as resembling the sea in its extent, in its colour, and in the shores by which it is sur-

* Abulfedæ Descript. Ægypt, p. 23.

rounded. * This province is celebrated by the ancients as surpassing the rest of Egypt in beauty, in riches, and in the variety of its productions. It was the only district which produced the olive. Feium still displays traces of its ancient fertility, though, by the neglect of its canals, and the encroachment of the sands of the desert, the arable soil is reduced to a third of its original extent. The climate, the soil, and the waters of the river, are the same, but the works of human art have changed. The soil produces various kinds of grain abundantly, and the olive and the vine are not quite extirpated. Groves of fruit-trees and rose-bushes line the banks of the river; and it is from this province that the immense consumption of rose-water by the Egyptians is supplied. When the waters of the river were regulated by canals, and the industry of the inhabitants aided the natural fertility of the soil, the province of Arsinoe, with its grey wastes of sand, and lofty rocks, which stretch with numerous intersections far into the desert, presented the appearance of "beauty smiling in the lap of "horror;" but since the canals have been ruined, agriculture neglected, and paltry cottages of mud formed out of the ruins of its ancient cities, the dreary aspect of desolation has predominated over the features of beauty. The cities of Crocodilo-

* Strabo à Casaub. p. 1163.

polis, Heraclea, and Ptolemais, are destroyed, and Feium itself, in the time of Abulfeda, a considerable city, has dwindled almost into insignificance. The bed of the lake Mœris, now denominated Cairun, is much inferior to its ancient size, though it is still about thirty leagues in circumference. The length is between thirty and forty miles, and the greatest breadth about six miles. * The shore towards Feium is flat and sandy, and various islands are comprehended within the circumference of the lake. Towards Libya, at a small distance from the western extremity of the lake, are the ruins of the town and palace of Caroun, from which the lake derives its Arabian name. These are supposed to mark the site of the Labyrinth, that extraordinary and magnificent edifice, which Pliny regarded as the most amazing monument of human genius; which was the prototype of similar structures in Crete, in Lemnos, and in Italy, and, for the erection of which, it is almost impossible to assign any satisfactory reason. According to Herodotus, the subterraneous apartments of the Labyrinth contained the bodies of the ancient Egyptian kings, and of the sacred *crocodiles*; but Pliny mentions it as an opinion generally received, that the edifice was erected in honour of the sun. The canal which descends from the Thebaid to the lake

* Brown's Travels, p. 169.

Cairun, is still denominated the canal of Joseph. Between this artificial derivation and the bed of the Nile, a long narrow lake, termed Bathen by the Arabs, is intercepted. Above Feium, the mountains which accompany the Nile from the cataracts, approach nearer its banks, and the dimensions of the fertile valley of the river are contracted, particularly on the eastern side, which is naked, rocky, and barren. Towns and villages become less numerous, while the ruins of ancient cities abound more and more. Amid the paltry cottages of the Copts and Arabs, the traveller discerns the vestiges of magnificent edifices which seem to have been the habitations of Genii. In sailing southwards occur the considerable towns of Benisouef, Monfalout, Assiut, and Girgé, the capital of Upper Egypt. All these places have ruins in their vicinity; but none of peculiar splendour occur, till we arrive at Dendera.

Dendera, the ancient Tentyra, lies on the western bank of the river, near the extremity of a fertile plain, bounded by an extensive forest of palms and dates, which furnishes the greater part of Egypt with charcoal.* The ruins of ancient Tentyra, which lie a little to the west of the modern town, are of considerable extent. The remains of three temples, the largest of which is in

* Sonnini's Travels, p. 589, 4to.

a high state of preservation, still exist. Two of these, one of which is the largest of the three, are dedicated to Isis; the third seems to have been consecrated to Typhon. * The execution of the sculptures in these temples exhibits a degree of purity and delicacy, which the Egyptians seldom attained. The principal subjects represented in the porticos are of an astronomical nature. The inhabitants of ancient Tentyra are famous for their enmity to the crocodile, over which they exhibited a power similar to that of the Psylli over serpents. How they medicated themselves against this terrible animal is unknown; but that they possessed this power can hardly be doubted, as it was frequently displayed at public exhibitions in the Roman capital. † Pliny relates, that the hardy Tentyrite was accustomed to pursue the crocodile into the recesses of the river, mount on his scaly back, fix a spur of wood between his jaws, and with this rude bridle conduct him to the shore, where the monster, terrified at his voice, disgorged for burial the bodies of those whom he had devoured. ‡ When this place was visited by Sonnini, the Arabian governor, unlike the people of the

* Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 49.

† Strabo à Casaub. p. 1169.

‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 25.

country, who imagine that "every cave has its "treasure," thus vindicated the researches of that author from the aspersions of his countrymen: "You know not that the ancestors of the Franks "occupied this country, and that it is from re- "spect to the monuments of their ancestors that "they visit these ruins, as objects which remind "them of their ancient grandeur." * This opinion, though characteristic of barbarian manners, is creditable to the Arab, if the force of popular prejudices be considered, especially as the Egyptians of this period dreaded the total subversion of the Mahometan power, and the establishment of the empire of *The Yellow King*, or Russian Czar. Opposite to Dendera, on the eastern bank of the Nile, lies Kenè or Gienè, the ancient Cœne or Cœnopolis, situated on an eminence. Since the decline of Coptos or Keft, the Sanscrit Gupta, its ruins lie about four leagues above Kenè, on the same bank of the river. The ruins of this city, which occupy an eminence of two miles in circumference, are marked only by a few fragments of granite and mutilated sarcophagi, sunk in the elevated soil. In the reign of the Ptolemies, this city was the mart of Indian commerce; it was watered by a canal of the Nile, and inhabited by Egyptians and Arabs. By this route, the produce

* Sonnini's Travels, p. 590, 4to.

of Arabia, Ethiopia, and India, was introduced into Egypt, from the port of Cosseir, which lies at the distance of three days' journey. The city retained the opulence it derived from this trade till the reign of Diocletian, by whom it was rased, and the inhabitants extirpated, on account of their adherence to Christianity. In the time of Abulfeda, it was reduced to a hamlet. Cous, the Apollinopolis Parva of the ancients, succeeded to the commerce and opulence of Coptos, and possessed it during the dominion of the Arabs. Abulfeda relates that it was the emporium of the commerce of Aden, the capital of Yemen, which, during the 13th century, monopolized the trade of India and Egypt. When Egypt was conquered by the Turks, and the Indian commerce, after the circumnavigation of Southern Africa, declined, Kenè succeeded to the remains of this trade. At Cous no remains of antiquity exist, except the entablature of an Egyptian gate, on the cornice of which a Greek inscription is engraved. * The soil of Upper Egypt seems to increase in fertility, as the traveller approaches the site of the ancient Thebes. The cultivated fields produce luxuriant crops, in the proportion of thirty and fifty for one, while several crops succeed one another in the same year.†

* Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 48.

† Sonnini's Travels, p. 619, 4to.

In that fervid atmosphere, which renders flowers more fragrant, fruit-trees of every species are constantly covered with fruits or blossoms, and equally delight the senses by their variegated foliage and odoriferous shade. The acacia, which produces the gum Arabic, abounds in the sandy plains. The appearance of this tree is stunted, the stem crooked and low, the branches long and naked, the leaves narrow, and the flowers minute and white, sometimes tinged with yellow. Its bark is rough and brown, and the branches are armed with long white spines.* Were extensive forests of the acacia diffused over the sandy plains of Egypt, the basis of the soil of which consists frequently of vegetable mould, it is probable that extensive arid districts might be reclaimed from desolation to their original fertility.

The ruins of the great Thebes, the ancient capital of Egypt, the city of Jove, the city of the hundred gates, from each of which issued two hundred warriors, with their horses and chariots, overwhelm the mind with astonishment by their magnitude and magnificence, while they, at the same time, exhibit the most melancholy picture of the instability of human greatness. When the Scythians

* Sonnini's Travels, p. 637, 4to.

invited Darius to follow them to the tombs of their ancestors, we accompany their dreary route through the desert, and contemplate the solemn visit of the pastoral tribes to the venerable graves of their fathers. It is with feelings such as these the traveller should tread on the ruins of Thebes, and contemplate the cradle of the human race. If ever a nation aimed at immortality of fame, and sought to astonish and eclipse succeeding generations by the monuments of their grandeur, it was the nation which built Egyptian Thebes; yet their antiquity is buried in the obscurity of ages; their history, their manners, and their laws, are forgotten, and their name has hardly survived the revolutions of centuries. The grandeur and beauty conspicuous in the venerable ruins of this ancient city, the enormous dimensions, and the gigantic proportions of its architecture, reduce into comparative insignificance the most boasted monuments of other nations The ruins, which occupy both sides of the Nile, extend for three leagues along the river; on the east and west, they reach to the mountains, and describe a circuit of twenty-seven miles, covered with prostrate columns of immense magnitude, colossal statues, lofty colonnades, avenues formed by rows of obelisks and sphinxes, and remains of porticos of prodigious elevation. Kourna and Medinet-Abu, on the western bank of the river, Luxor and Carnac, on the eastern, mark the extent of the ruins.

the greater proportion of which exist on the eastern bank of the Nile. The river is, at this place, about three hundred yards broad. At Kourna are the ruins of an Egyptian temple, constructed on a different plan from that of the edifices at Thebes.* The roofs are vaulted in a peculiar manner, and the hieroglyphics accurately engraved. The inhabitants of this district are a ferocious race, dark in their complexion, and different in their features from the other Egyptians, while the greater part of them, like the ancient Troglodytes, inhabit the caverns of the mountains. When Browne visited Kourna, a female inquired, "Are you afraid of "crocodiles?" and added laconically, "We are "crocodiles;"† a denomination which applies accurately to the inhabitants of all the villages of the Thebaid. The ruins on the western bank of the Nile are not only less entire, but piled in greater disorder than on the eastern side of the river. The most entire are the Memnonium, or palace of Memnon, the palace of Medinet-Abu, and two colossal statues, celebrated for their prodigious height. Some of the columns of the Memnonium are still about forty feet high, and ten in diameter. In one of the courts are fragments of an immense

* Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 48.

† Browne's Travels in Africa, p. 138.

statue, one of the feet of which is entire, and almost eleven feet long. A colossal statue of granite, of smaller proportions, placed at one of the gates, exhibits an admirable specimen of Egyptian sculpture. The body is black, but the head is formed of rose-coloured granite. The peristyle of the palace of Medinet-Abu is sixty-five feet paces in length, and fifty-five in breadth. It is formed by four ranges of columns, forty-five feet in height, and seven in diameter. The execution of the sculpture is superior to that of the Memnonium. The smaller hieroglyphics are hollowed in the stone, from the depth of one to that of six inches, while the larger figures have two inches of relief. The two colossal statues, generally denominated Shaama and Taama, are placed between Memnonium and Medinet-Abu. They are about fifty-eight feet in height, and in a sitting attitude. Their bases are about eleven feet high, but immersed nearly six feet in the earth. The southern colossus is entire, but the northern is mutilated. Its base and legs are covered with Greek and Latin inscriptions, which commemorate the emission of sound from the vocal statue of Memnon. The interval between Memnonium and Medinet-Abu is occupied by the continuous ruins of magnificent edifices and colossal statues, the sculptures of which, representing battles and sieges, seem to indicate the remains of the tomb of Osymandyas, probably the same personage

with Memnon. Diodorus has left us a description of this astonishing edifice. The vestibule, of coloured stone, was two hundred feet in length, and sixty-eight feet in elevation. The peristyle was of a square form, each of its sides was four hundred feet long, supported by columns sculptured in the form of animals, while the roof, of an azure colour, was variegated with stars of gold. Beyond this peristyle, another portico, more highly ornamented with sculptures than the former, introduced the spectator to the view of three statues, formed of one stone, not more remarkable for their gigantic size, than for their exquisite workmanship. On the largest of these statues was the following proud inscription: "I am Osymandyas, king of kings! Let "him who would know how great I am, and where "I repose, surpass my works." * According to the same author, the sculptures on the walls of this monument commemorate the triumphs of this prince over the insurgents of Bactria. The most celebrated monuments of ancient Thebes are situated on the eastern bank of the river, and extend from the Arabian village of Luxor or Aksor, mentioned by Abulfeda, to Carnac. Luxor is probably the Diospolis of the Greeks, but Carnac may likewise be included in Ptolemy's Great City of Jupiter. In approaching the ruins of the palace of Luxor

* Diodorus Siculus à Heyne, Vol. I. p. 145.

from the river, two immense obelisks appear in the front, and between these and the edifice, two colossal statues of black granite, about thirty-eight feet in height. Of the palace, various magnificent colonnades still exist, but some of the wings are greatly dilapidated, so that it is difficult to trace the form of the building. It is at Carnac, however, that the finest ruin exists. Four avenues, three of which are formed by rows of sphinxes, lead to four magnificent porticos. The middle consists of a grand saloon, formed by ranges of columns of prodigious magnitude. The ruins of this edifice are surrounded with the remains of sphinxes, obelisks, statues, and mutilated columns, all of which are sculptured with hieroglyphical figures. The Libyan mountain, on the west of Thebes, contains numerous excavations, which occupy nearly three-fourths of its elevation, but the entrances of many of which are now filled up with sand. The most spacious and most ornamented of these caverns are those which are lowest on the mountain; those which are formed in the more elevated parts, though similar in plan, are more rude in construction as well as execution. A passage of considerable length, cut in the freestone, leads to the anterior chamber, from which another passage, winding abruptly to the right, leads to the great sepulchral chamber, in the middle of which is placed a sarcophagus of

red granite. * In the least decorated caverns, are represented the arts which flourished, and the trades which were practised, at the epocha of their construction. The subjects which relate to funeral ceremonies, the occupations of the hunter and the fisher, the duties and the punishments of military life, the employments of the husbandman, the potter, and the artizans which first appear in the progress of civilization, are in these caverns sculptured in basso-relievo, or painted in fresco. † The sepulchres of the kings are carved, in their whole extent, with pictures and hieroglyphics, and exhibit many specimens of the grotesque style, similar to that employed in Herculaneum. ‡ The unintelli-

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* Browne's Travels, p. 137.

† Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 44.

‡ "In some places of the Mummy Pits," says Vansleb, "are great tombstones, full of cyphers and enigmatical figures, which represent something of chemistry, and of other sciences and mysteries, and full of strange characters that are no hieroglyphics."——*Vansleb's Travels in* 1672-3, *p.* 91.

The sepulchres of the kings are denominated *Biban-el-Moluk*, the Ports or Gates of the Kings; and hence Bruce thinks was derived the epithet ἑκατόμπυλος, having a hundred gates, which is employed by Homer. Volney conjectures, that the term signified a hundred public porticoes. Bruce's Travels, Vol. I. p. 136. Volney's Ruins.

gible characters inscribed on the walls of these caverns, are supposed to conceal the history of a very obscure period of the reign of the ancient Theban monarchs, whose authority extended from Ethiopia to India. In one of these caves are found the representations of the two harps and harpers described by Bruce, which are supposed by Browne to have been delineated from memory, rather than from the figures themselves, but which the French philosophers who visited these excavations in a more secure manner than former travellers had done, do not accuse of inaccuracy. In many of these subterraneous recesses, the sculptures represent human sacrifices. Strabo relates that the sepulchres of the kings were forty in number, while Diodorus Siculus, from the ancient Egyptian records, enumerates forty-seven, though he adds, that, during the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, only seventeen were open, * the Egyptians having probably concealed them to prevent violation. At present only nine are accessible. The mummies are now procured from the excavations in the more elevated part of the mountain. † The pensile gardens of Thebes

* Diodor. Sicul. à Heyne, Vol. I. p. 142.

† According to Norden, grottos or excavations of this kind in the vicinity of Assiut are denominated SABABINATH. Norden's Travels, Vol. II. p. 33.

are mentioned by Pliny,* but no particular description of them has been preserved. The origin of this city ascends to a period of unfathomable antiquity. The ancient city was destroyed before the era of authentic history, and its power and magnificence are described by authors who only beheld its ruins. The opinions of the Egyptians themselves, as we are informed by Diodorus, were divided concerning the founder of Thebes, though, by the voice of the majority, that honour was ascribed to Osiris. By others, however, the claims of the second Busiris, a character whose history is scarcely less obscure than that of Osiris, were admitted to be preferable. The signification and etymology of the name of the city likewise forms a very perplexing, though not very important, subject of inquiry.

From a celebrated temple dedicated to that luminary, Thebes is sometimes denominated *The City of the Sun.* The original decline of Thebes was caused by the building of Memphis: It was sacked by Salatis, and afterwards by Sabacon, kings of the Ethiopian shepherds; and it was probably the vicinity of this rapid and ferocious enemy which induced the ancient Egyptian princes to remove the seat of their empire down the Nile to Memphis. The mutilation of the ancient monuments of Thebes was completed by the indiscriminate rage of Cambyses, after whose invasion

* Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxvi. c. 14.

this city never recovered any part of its ancient splendour. It may be noticed as a curious fact, that Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the devastation of Thebes by a sudden incursion of the Carthaginians, prior to the expedition of Cambyses into Egypt.

In the vicinity of Thebes, in a large island formed by a branch of the Nile, which separates from the principal stream at Ermenth, and unites with it again at Memnonium, ought probably to be placed the Tathyris of Ptolemy,* the Pathuris of Pliny, Pathros of the Hebrew monuments, and Pathures of the Septuagint. The change of P into T is conformable to the Ethiopic pronunciation. Ermenth, the ancient Hermonthis, lies about twelve miles above Thebes, and exhibits the ruins of a magnificent temple. In this city, according to Ælian, *The Good Genius* was worshipped under the symbol of a bull, and denominated Onuphis.† Between Ermenth and Isna lies Asfun, a small town founded on the ruins of Aphroditopolis, sometimes denominated Asphynis, as Wilford thinks, from the Sanscrit term *Aswini*. Esne, or Latopolis, is still a considerable town, and since the persecution of Dioclesian, has been revered as a place of peculiar sanctity by the Copts. An an-

* Ptolemæi Geogr. à Bertio, p. 122.

† Ælian. Hist. Animal. l. xii.

cient temple is still in a state of considerable preservation. According to Norden, the capital of one column never resembles another. The sculptures represent the ceremonies of worshiping the ram, the crocodile, and the Nile. In the vicinity of this city are various ruins of temples and large buildings, that appear from the sculptures to have been consecrated to the crocodile, which is sometimes represented with the head of a hawk. The inhabitants of this district, if they have not retained their ancient veneration for this animal, still preserve many superstitions concerning it. In the vicinity of Esne the king of the crocodiles is said to reside, who, unlike the rest of the race, is devoid of a tail, but, as a compensation for this loss, he is adorned with ears. Among the qualities of this royal crocodile, is that of never doing any harm, a circumstance which is extremely probable. This superstition resembles that which the negroes in the West Indies entertain concerning the cayman. Beneath Esne, there appears, from Strabo, to have been an ancient city, denominated Crocodilopolis. The situation of the Eileithyia of Ptolemy, or the city of Bubaste, on the eastern bank of the Nile, is indicated by an enclosure containing various ruins, at El Kab. * The mountain in its vicinity is pierced with numerous sepulchral excava-

* Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 25.

tions, on which are sculptured the details of rural and domestic economy, navigation, religious and funeral ceremonies. The process of embalming is minutely described; the male figures are painted red, and the female yellow. Edfou, the ancient Apollinopolis Magna, was formerly celebrated for the temple of Orus, the Egyptian Apollo, and was one of the places where the grand mysteries were celebrated. This temple, though it has suffered considerable dilapidations, is, after that of Dendera, the most perfect specimen of Egyptian architecture. A few leagues beyond Edfou, the channel of the Nile is contracted by the Mountain of the Chain, or Gebel el Silfili, which projects into the stream from the western bank. This mountain is supposed to have derived its name from a chain, which, at an early period of the Egyptian history, was drawn across the stream, to prevent the incursions of the Nubians, who were accustomed, in their boats, to descend the river, and ravage the plains of the Thebaid. The rock, which consists of freestone, is at this place hollowed into sepulchral excavations. Beyond this narrow pass of the river, the ruins of Ombos, now denominated Koum Ombu, or the Heap of Ombos, are discovered, the structures of which seem to have sunk beneath the enormous weight of the materials with which they were constructed. The remains of two temples, which, from the sculptures, seem to have

been devoted to the united worship of Osiris and the Crocodile, still displayed the faded aspect of ancient grandeur. *

In the temples of Ombos, the malignant Typhon is represented with the head of a crocodile and the body of a bear, and offerings are presented to the figure of a man with the head of a crocodile. As the banks of the Nile are in this district almost deserted, the crocodiles which swarm on the isles of sand, and swim in long lines along the river, seem to have fixed their residence, in a peculiar manner, in the vicinity of a town in which they were formerly venerated. Ascending beyond Ombos, we arrive at Syene or Assuan, Elephantine, and Philæ, by Tacitus denominated the barrier of the Roman empire. Syene has thrice varied its position. The present town is built on the banks of the river, according to the observations of Bruce, in N. L. 24° 0′ 25″ and E. long. 33° 30′. † The Syene of the ancient Egyptians, of the Greeks, and of the Romans, appears to have been situated on the heights which command the modern town. It was taken and destroyed by Caled, named by Mahomet "*The Sword of God.*" The Arabian Syene, though it occupied a part of

* Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 22.

† Bruce's Travels, Vol. I. p. 160.

the site of the ancient city, was situated in a more southern position than either the ancient or the modern town. The isle of Elephantine is situated opposite to Syene, and has been apparently formed by the accumulation of the sediment of the Nile. It is about three hundred fathoms long, and four hundred broad. It contains the ruins of a small temple consecrated to Orus, the figures sculptured on which have the characteristic features of negroes. * The modern inhabitants of this isle exhibit considerable resemblance to the negro race in features, hair, and person. † Termissi and Marada, small villages which lie on the first cataract of the Nile, are about six miles above Syene. At this cataract, or rather rapid, by the Arabs denominated Shelal, the Nile, which is scarcely half a mile in breadth, is divided into a number of small channels by numerous isles and rocks of granite, that run across the bed of the river. The face of the country is peculiarly rough and irregular, being formed of a confused mass of naked precipices and sandy declivities. The fall of the Nile itself appeared to Norden to be only about four feet in height. Pococke, who seems to have observed it at a more favourable season, mentions three different falls; the first three feet in height, the se-

* Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 22.

† Browne's Travels, p. 141.

cond five, and the third, which is situated lower on the river, of still greater height.* The boats of the Arabs both ascend and descend these rapids, which do not correspond to the magnificent descriptions of them left by the ancients. Among the ancient poets, who, in their descriptions, have depicted it as a scene of sublimity and grandeur, Lucan deserves to be particularly mentioned.† But even the historians and naturalists have caught the enthusiasm, and describe, in the most brilliant colours of fancy, the roaring, dashing, and foaming of the agitated stream, the tremendous whirlpools it forms, and the rapidity of the current, which is compared to the velocity of an arrow. The Persian garrison are described by Seneca as stunned by the loud and dreadful echos of the waterfalls, and retreating from its vicinity to a more

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* Pococke's Travels in Egypt, Vol. I. p. 121.

† ——— Quis te tam lene fluentem
Moturum tantas violenti gurgitis iras
Nile, putet? Sed cum lapsus abrupta viarum
Excepere tuos, et precipites cataractæ,
Ac nusquam vetitis ullas obsistere cautes
Indignaris equis; spuma tunc astra lacessis;
Cuncta fremunt undis, ac multo murmure montes
Spumeus invictis canescit fluctibus amnis.

Lucan, Pharsal. l. x. 315.

quiet station.* From these relations, we figure to ourselves the stupendous precipices of Niagara, the vast unbroken flood which agitates the air to a whirlwind in its fall, the thundering reverberation of the rocks, the white cloud of spray, and the prostrate Indian adoring the awful divinity of the waters. If ever these ideas were applicable to the waterfalls of the Nile, that period is long past. From the relation of Diodorus, however, who describes the regurgitation of the river as inundating the plains of Nubia, it may be conjectured, that, in the lapse of time, through the constant attrition of so considerable a body of water, the fall of the river has been gradually rendered less precipitous, and the chasm of the rocks more considerable. About four miles beyond the cataract of the Nile, lies El-Heiff, the ancient Philæ. In this isle, or rather rock of granite, which is only one hundred and fifty fathoms long and seventy broad, are concentrated some of the most curious and picturesque remains of Egypt. Three entire temples, the ruins of a Roman fort, and the vestiges of two other temples, are here discernible. The plan of the temples is very irregular, probably from having been the work of different periods. The exterior part of the building is adorned with colossal sculptures, and the ornaments and capitals of the co-

* Senecæ Nat. Quæst. lib. iv. c. 2.

lumns are exquisitely finished. The capitals are of four kinds, representing the calyx of the lotus, the flower of the lotus, the head of the palm tree, and the branches of the fan palm tree united with the bark of the lotus. One of the colossal sculptures represents a giant, who seizes in his left hand thirty men by the hair, while in his right he brandishes a battle-axe over his devoted victims. From the figure of the hawk sculptured on the walls, the great temple appears to have been consecrated to Osiris, whose sepulchre was in this island. *By Osiris in Philæ,* was the most solemn oath of the ancient Egyptians.* As many of the monuments in this island are constructed of masses of stone, sculptured with hieroglyphics, the French philosophers, by whom they were examined, conjecture that they indicate a class of monuments anterior to those of the Thebaid or of any other district of Egypt.† Norden supposes Philæ to be excavated into subterraneous recesses and passages, a conjecture by no means improbable, as it was the exclusive habitation of the priests, every other Egyptian being prohibited from entering it under the penalty of death. From this circumstance, it seems to have received from Seneca the epithet of

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* Tzetzes in Lycophron, Alex. 212.

† Ripaud's Report on the Antiquities of Upper Egypt, p. 20.

The Inaccessible; and we are informed by Norden, that its rocky banks are cut in the form of a wall. An island of still larger size than Philæ, and in its immediate vicinity, is probably the Tacompsus of Stephanus Byzantinus, which that geographer mentions as adjacent to Philæ. From the name it may be inferred that Tacompsus was devoted to the worship of the crocodile, since kamsa or kompso, according to Herodotus, was the name of that animal in the ancient Egyptian language. About a league above Philæ, the village Deboude exhibits the remains of various ancient structures, with a ruined canal, lined with stone, and forty feet in breadth; and at Hindau, about two leagues higher on the Nile, similar ruins become still more numerous. * As the traveller advances he still recognises the vestiges of ancient grandeur; magnificent ruins emerge from the sands, and he often finds large stones covered with hieroglyphics, though unable to discover the edifices from which they have been taken. The valley of the river is confined by sandy declivities and precipices of granite, till it reaches the village of Teffa, about nine leagues beyond which it is crossed by the imaginary line that divides Egypt from Nubia. After entering Nubia, the valley preserves the same aspect, and the breadth of the flat country between

* Norden's Travels, Vol. II. p. 130.

the mountains and the Nile seldom exceeds an hundred paces. In some places, the declivities of the valley are cultivated to a considerable height, and thickets of acacia flourish on the tops of the hills. The rocks of granite do not extend far beyond the cataract, but are interrupted by strata of sandstone, which contain numerous nodules of silex. The valley widens as its ascends, and ruins of considerable edifices are still apparent, particularly at Dendour, Dikka, and Sabua. Dendour is equally distant from the cataract of Syene and Deir or Derri, one of the last Egyptian stations in Nubia. This station was visited in 1737-8 by Fred. L. Norden, who attempted to penetrate as far as the second cataract, but was unable to surmount the difficulties which he encountered at Deir. These difficulties did not consist so much in the nature of the journey, as in the rapacity and jealousy of the inhabitants of this frontier post. Their chief declared to Norden, that one of their prophets had announced, "That there would come "Franks in disguise, who, by presents, by soothing and insinuating behaviour, would traverse "the country, examine its situation, and afterwards return with a great number of other Franks "to conquer the country, and exterminate the inhabitants." * We have lately seen the conjec-

* Norden's Travels, Vol. II. p. 150.

ture of the prophet fulfilled in its most essential circumstances. The station of Ibrim, termed Efrim by Maillet, lies above Deir. Sicard terms it the capital of Nubia on the south-east. * At some distance beyond Ibrim is the second or great cataract, denominated Mahaslas, and Genadil. The course of the Nile in this tract has been so little explored, that it is impossible to assign the modern stations which correspond to the places mentioned by the ancient geographers. Pselchis and Metakompso are placed by Ptolemy 25′ to the south of Philæ, a distance which corresponds, in some degree, to the Tachompso of Herodotus. The Stadisis of Pliny, founded near a cataract of the Nile beyond Pselchis, and destroyed by Petronius the Roman præfect of Egypt, seems to have been situated in the vicinity of the second cataract.

From the topography of the valley of the Nile, "that land, whereof the air is pleasant, the waters "sweet, and the valleys green, which is adorned "with a river of paradise, on which the eye of the "Almighty watches night and day," we turn to describe the eastern desert of the Thebaid, a district whose horrid aspect nurses misanthropy in the breasts of the wretched, and invites them to pine in its savage solitudes. In this vast expanse of naked rocks and burning sand, we search in vain

* Sicard Relation ap. Lettres Edifiantes, Vol. II. p. 186.

for the ruins of temples, ancient monuments, and superb edifices like those which cover the valley of Egypt; we discover no remains of a city, no remains of a village; but if a solitary fountain have fertilized a small circle of sand in the desert, if a lonely tree have extended its shade over the path of the traveller, he seems to have given it a name, as if it had been a city. This region exhibits the form of a triangle, the apex of which is placed at Suez, while the two sides are formed by the Red Sea and the Nile. In the parallel of Cairo, the Nile is scarcely three days' journey distant from the sea; at Keft the distance is considerably increased; in a higher parallel it becomes nine days' journey, while at Syene it is computed to be about seventeen. * This district, which, from its eastern situation, is denominated Sharkin, a word Latinized Saracene, is, by the ancients, frequently termed Arabia, from the similarity both of the country and of the inhabitants. It is also termed Asiatic Egypt. The chain of mountainous ridges which confine the eastern bank of the Nile is so steep and precipitous, that it frequently exhibits the aspect of an artificial wall, interrupted at intervals by deep and rugged ravines. But as if this natural defence had not been sufficient, the remains of an extensive artificial wall, about twenty-four

* Maillet's Descr. de l'Egypte, p. 318.

feet thick, formed of huge stones, and running from north to south, is asserted to have been discovered in this desert.* This the Arabs suppose to have been formed by an ancient Egyptian king, and term it *The Wall of the Old Man.* In the cells of this arid region, the ancient Ascetics, equally ignorant and uncivilized as the savage Troglodytes who preceded them, lived a life, according to the expression of Sicard, more angelic than human. The monasteries of St Anthony and St Paul are still inhabited by Coptic monks, who, while they claim an absolute power over dæmons, serpents, and wild beasts, are unable to protect themselves from the Arabs of the desert. In the vicinity of these monasteries the only partridges in Egypt are found.† To the east of Syene, at the distance of about forty miles, Mount Baram indicates the situation of the *Basanites Lapis Mons* of Ptolemy, from the quarries of which a hard black stone, often employed in forming domestic utensils, has long been dug. The Roman station, *Castra Lapidariorum*, is supposed to have been situated in its vicinity. The city Alabastron lay much lower in the desert of the Thebaid, and almost in the parallel of the ancient Oxyrinchus. Its ruins may be observed on the north of Mount

* Maillet, Descr. de l'Egypte, p. 321.

† Granger, Voyage en Egypte, p. 400.

Calil. The greater part of this arid desert exhibits no traces of animal or vegetable life; the birds shun its torrid atmosphere, the serpent and the lizard abandon the sands, and the red ant, which resembles in colour the soil on which it lives, is almost the only animal which seems to exist among the ruins of nature. At an ancient period, however, these deserts were productive both of precious stones and of the precious metals. The Arabs still retain many traditions concerning the famous mine of emeralds, and both Agatharchides and Diodorus mention the mines of gold.

In barbarous countries, the route of the wandering savage is sometimes across the pathless desert or the forest, but his constant residence is by the river, or along the shore of the sea. In the eastern desert of the Thebaid there are no rivers, though the surface of the ground is furrowed by torrents, and we must descend to the shore of the Red Sea to look for the habitations of men. The flat country along the shore seems to have been formerly denominated Hor or Horeth, signifying a valley or stripe of ground furrowed by torrents, and was the residence of the Horites or Troglodytes: Hence probably Pihahiroth, *The Mouth of the Valley*, the name of the station of the Israelites before they crossed the Red Sea, and situated at the narrowest part of the Gulf of Suez, where it does not exceed four leagues in breadth. The memory of

this remarkable event was preserved by tradition among the inhabitants of this coast at so late a period as the days of Diodorus. * The African coast is naked and rugged; the water is so deep as frequently to afford no soundings along the shore, but it is interspersed with concealed rocks of the hardest texture, and sharp as spears. Towards Suez the shore is skirted by some small islands, or rather rocks, which are as barren as the main land. The principal of these are the Jaffateen islands, which are four in number, and lie in the form of a semicircle, connected by shoals and sunk rocks. After passing to the south of Gebel-el-Zeit, or the Mount of Petroleum, Myos Hormus, the harbour chosen in preference to Suez by Ptolemy Philadelphus, is the first station which presents itself. It is covered by the Jaffateens, and lies in N. L. 27° 0′. The name of this harbour was afterwards changed to Aphrodites Hormus. For a considerable period this city was the emporium of the Arabian trade, but after it fell into the hands of the Romans, it seems to have been supplanted by Berenice. Old Cosseir, which lies about six miles to the north of the modern town, is the Leucos Portus of Ptolemy, being surmounted by two white chalky mountains, from which its former name was derived. The modern Cosseir, which is built on the shore among the hil-

* Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. c. 3.

locks of moving sand, lies in N. L. 26° 7′ 51″, and E. long. 34° 4 15″. The houses of the town are built of clay, and the inhabitants, in their manners and features, have a greater resemblance to the Arabians of the eastern shore of the Red Sea, than to the native Egyptians. The port is formed by a rock, which projects about four hundred yards into the sea. There is no cultivated land in the vicinity of the town, and the water is so brackish, that the inhabitants are forced to procure it from Terfowey, which is a day's journey distant. Cosseir exhibits no vestiges of antiquity, and is as little distinguished by modern grandeur as by ancient fame. Though more accessible than Suez, the only other Egyptian port on the Red Sea, it derives more advantage from lying in the route of the pilgrims of Mecca, than from its trade. The Maadan Uzzumurud, or *Emerald Mine*, visited by Bruce, to the south of Cosseir, is probably the Smaragdus Mons of Ptolemy. Bruce observed five pits sunk at the foot of a mountain, a few miles from the shore, but did not explore the mineralogy of the district. Tracing the same bold, naked, and almost inaccessible coast, after doubling Ras-el-Ans, a large promontory, which corresponds to the ancient Lepte, we reach the Sinus Immundus of the ancients, an extensive bay marked with shoals and breakers, which, in our modern charts, still retains the appellation of Foul Bay. In the bottom of this bay

is a small creek, denominated Minè or Belled-el-Habesh, which is supposed to correspond with the ancient Berenice. It is situated in N. L. 23° 28', extending more than a degree beyond the parallel of Syene, in which Berenice is placed by the ancients; but from the inaccuracy of their astronomical calculations, it is sometimes better to trust their itineraries and remarks on the curvature of a coast than their celestial observations. The port of Habesh is marked by small rocky islands, but these have been too inaccurately observed for determining the positions of the ancients to which they correspond. The ancients mention a Sapphire, a Topaz, and an Emerald isle in the Red Sea, but seem to differ from each other concerning their position. Berenice was built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, a little after the establishment of Myos Hormus. Situated in a lower part of the Arabian Gulf, it facilitated navigation, by rendering it practicable to mariners to take advantage of the regular winds. The inland route between Coptos and Berenice was opened with an army by the same prince, who established stations along it for the protection of travellers.* This relation, which is given by Strabo, accords with the Adulitic inscription preserved in Cosmas, which records the Ethiopian conquests of

* Strabo à Casaub. p. 1169.

Ptolemy Evergetes, who seems to have adopted the commercial plans of his father, and to have endeavoured to extend them. The Romans, when they conquered Egypt, immediately perceived the importance of these arrangements; Berenice became the emporium of their eastern trade, and Myos Hormos sunk to a subordinate station. The only Greek author who gives an account of this emporium is Strabo. All the details concerning the inland route from Coptos to Berenice are Roman. This route occupied twelve days, and is estimated at two hundred and fifty-eight miles by Pliny and the compiler of the Peutingerian Tables. The Antonine Itinerary gives two hundred and sixty-one miles. The Port of Habesh, the name which the harbour corresponding to Berenice now obtains, is derived from the appellation of Habesh, which the African shore, in the parallel of Syene, often receives. Though the Egyptian power has frequently extended beyond this position on the coast of Africa, the site of the ancient Berenice may still be regarded as its proper boundary. Suakem, a small government similar to Cosseir, which has been commonly dependent on Egypt, is situated in N. L. 19° 20′, and seems to correspond to the Soter Limen of Diodorus. The harbour of Suakem is safe and capacious. The name is probably the same with the Suche of Pliny, placed on this coast, and seems to be derived from the Sukim or Troglo-

dytes, its ancient inhabitants. Perhaps all these terms are connected with *Suah*, a characteristic name of the shepherd tribes. The Ptolemais Epitheras, or Ptolemais in the country of wild beasts, was the last station on this coast founded for the protection of the elephant hunters of Egypt. It appears to have been situated on a promontory, which projects into a bay of the Nubian forest, about N. L. 17° 6′. These extreme stations on the African coast are rather to be regarded as frontier posts, than as forming any part of the proper territory of Egypt. They have in every age been occupied by a race distinct from the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, in features, in language, in customs, and in manners; but they have been subject to Egypt whenever the government of that country possessed either energy or stability.

The fervid imagination of the Orientals, always fond of conferring life and motion on inanimate objects, compares Egypt to their fabulous bird, the great *Rokh*, the valley of the river representing its body, and the deserts of the east and west its expanded wings. After delineating the course of the Nile and the eastern desert, another *wing*, if it may be allowed to adopt the metaphor, still remains to be described. Behind the western ridge of mountains which confines the valley of the Nile, a vast desolate tract extends, which the Arabian geographers assign to Egypt, and denominate Al

Wahat, The Desert of the Wahs or Oases. The boundaries of this tract are quite imaginary, but it is described as extending about three hundred and fifty G. miles from N. to S., and one hundred and fifty from E. to W. Ibn al Wardi, and Leo, by whom it is termed Alguechet, class this district as a separate division of Africa between Barca and Egypt. In this region of sterility and desolation, where the burning and vertical sun seems to survey only the ashes of a world destroyed by fire, or the sands of a vast sea, from which the waters have retreated, the green and fertile Oases, the islands of the desert, emerge on the delighted eye of the traveller, like visions of enchantment. The contrast of the waste and desolate sea of sand with which they are surrounded, enhances the idea of their beauty; and so powerful was its impression on the ancients, that they denominated them the *Happy Islands.* * The vicinity of the mountainous ridges by which these islands are generally surrounded, suggests the obvious manner of their formation. The copious dew which condenses on the tops of these mountains, after filtering through the rocks, emerges in springs amid the valleys beneath, and produces a luxuriant vegetation. The Egyptian Oases, which are two in number, consist of a long range of isolated spots of verdure, in the low and sandy desert

* Herodotus, Thalia, 26.

which lies beyond that western range of mountains, and runs parallel to the course of the Nile. These fertile tracts are separated by sandy plains of various extent. The distance between the nearest extremities of the two Oases is about forty miles, an interval greater than that which separates any of the other islands, and which, as Rennell conjectures, has caused the division of them into two great clusters, denominated the *Greater* and *Lesser* Oases.* The Greater Oasis, commonly termed El Wah, is by Leo named Eloacath or Eloacheth, while the Lesser, termed El Wal-el Gerbe, receives from that author the appellation of Gerbe.† The Arabian Jacuti, including Siwah or Ammonia, enumerates three Oases, which he arranges in three distinct lines, separated by ridges of mountains parallel to the course of the Nile, like the continents of the earth in Indian geography. The Oasis *Parva*, which lies remote from the course of the African caravans, has never been visited by any modern traveller, and is almost unknown to the Egyptians themselves. It is placed by Ptolemy in the parallel of N. L. 28° 45′, about seventy-five G. miles to the west of Bahnasa, the ancient Oxyrinchus, a position which nearly corresponds to the distance of Bahnasa from Cairo, estimated at seven

* Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 564.

† Leo Africanus, p. 10.

journeys by Edrisi. Bahnasa of Al Wahat is distinguished from the Egyptian Bahnasa, or Oxyrinchus, by Abulfeda, who places it towards Nigritia. Maillet, in his map of Egypt, places a district named Bahnasa to the west of the lake Cairun; and we are informed by Browne, that the Arabs of the Lesser Oasis occupy the western shores of this lake; a circumstance which demonstrates the proximity of the district they inhabit. Lucas, in the province of Feium, was informed of an inhabited spot of considerable extent, a few journeys to the west of that district, which abounded in dates and palms, though devoid of springs; a position which can only correspond to the Lesser Oasis.* Browne was informed, that various ruins still exist in this Oasis.†

The Oasis Magna, which lies in the route of the Abyssinian, Nubian, and Darfûr caravans, is much better known, and its position is more accurately determined, than that of the Oasis Parva. It is placed by Ptolemy in N. L. 26°.55′, by which he probably intended to mark the site of the principal town. Strabo places it seven journeys from Abydus, and Herodotus seven journeys from Thebes. The latter distance is nearly correct, but that given by Strabo is too great, as the site of Abydus is only

* Lucas, Voyage Third, Vol. II. p. 206.

† Browne's Travels, p. 132.

ninety-five miles from the nearest point of the Oasis. According to Herodotus, it was inhabited by a Samian colony, when visited by Cambyses; a circumstance the more probable, as, at that period, Samos flourished as a maritime power, and enjoyed particular immunities from Amasis of Egypt. According to Strabo, it abounded in springs, and was fruitful in vines and other productions. It was traversed by Poncet in 1698, on his way to Abyssinia. Maillet, who resided in Egypt about the beginning of last century, imagined that this territory was fertilized by the waters of the Nile, conducted across the hills by an ancient canal. He places very justly the nearest point of the Oasis to Egypt, in the direction of Manfalout, from which Poncet commenced his journey. Browne, who traversed this Oasis on his journey to Darfûr, has contributed most to the illustration of its position and topography, as well as the nature of the soil. He determined the geographical position of Charjé, its principal village, to be in N. lat. 26° 25′, E. long. 29° 49′, and that of Mughess, its most southern village, to be situated in N. lat. 25° 18′, E. long. 29° 34. He gives the names of three other villages, Ainé Dizé, Bulak, and Beiris. * The fertile tracts, interrupted by sandy plains, extend over a space of one hundred miles in length,

* Browne's Travels, p. 186.

are productive of dates, and watered by excellent springs. The largest of the intermediate sandy plains is about twenty-eight miles in breadth. The descent of the Egyptian mountains is steep and rugged, and the hills are chiefly composed of a coarse species of tufa. From the top of the declivity which descends into the Great Desert, the view extends over an unbounded plain, covered with rocks and sand, but in the vicinity of the springs, diversified with stunted shrubs and scattered date trees. The mountain, down the declivities of which the caravans of Egypt descend into the valley of the Oasis, is named Gebel Ramlie, and forms a part of that extensive range which runs parallel to the general course of the Nile, and bending to the west after it passes the Lesser Oasis, terminates on the shore of the Mediterranean, about forty miles to the east of Parætonium, in a position corresponding to the Lesser Catabathmus. No part of the Greater Oasis approaches nearer the valley of Egypt than seventy-eight or eighty G. miles. During the domination of the latter Greek or Constantinopolitan monarchs in Egypt, the Greater Oasis, as well as Ammonia, was considered as a great state prison, to which illustrious exiles were banished. Of this punishment Athanasius complains in his Apology, and in the Digest, it is mentioned as a particular species of exile. * Nes-

* Digest, l. xlviii. tit. 22,

torius appears to have been an exile in this region, when the Oasis was ravaged, in the fifth century, by the Blemmyes, an Ethiopian tribe. The Arabians have preserved a tradition, that the district Al Wahat, which contains these Oases, was once populous and full of cities; and Edrisi asserts, that the vestiges of trees, and the ruins of deserted habitations, were often in his time discovered amid its deserts.

After comparing the ancient and modern population of Egypt, it may be proper to consider its comparative population. The ancients, Herodotus and Diodorus, estimate the number of cities in Egypt at 20,000; and Maillet, who was acquainted with the country, absurdly adopts this computation. As the utmost efforts of industry could not have put in a state of cultivation more than 2250 square leagues, comprehending both the Oases, so extravagant an exaggeration, which allows nearly ten towns to every square league, must be admitted to betray the features of oriental fiction. Nature will not make her ancient mountains and deserts of sand recede, to confirm the romances of the historian or the traveller. The calculation of the ancients will appear still more incredible, if we reflect, that, from the cultivated land, must be deducted the site of so many cities, the ground occupied by that "street of magnifi-"cent edifices," which seems to have extended

along the banks of the Nile from Syene to Alexandria and the harbours of the Delta. From an authentic Arabian document, D'Anville estimates the number of towns and villages at 2696, and of these many were situated beyond the proper limits of Egypt. * An Arabian geographer enumerates only 2495 towns and villages, at a period when Egypt still flourished under the Arabian government. † Thus the application of geographical science assists us to correct the inaccuracy of ancient writers, separates truth from the exaggerations of vanity, or the fables of tradition, and reduces the science of history itself to a species of experimental knowledge. ‡

The expedition undertaken by the French into Egypt, although its object and conduct cannot be justified, deserves praise on account of the care which was taken to render it subservient to the interests of science. A body of those eminent learned men, who compose the Literary Society of Paris, was attached to the army, and availed themselves of all its movements, to obtain an accession to knowledge in their various departments. Denon,

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* D'Anville, Mémoires sur l'Egypte, p. 29.—Mr Browne reckons two millions and a half for the population of Egypt. —*Ed.*

† Jacuti ap. Indic. Geogr. Bohadini, ad verb. Ægyptus.

‡ The remainder of this chapter is by the Editor.

as an artist, had, for his province, to examine those gigantic monuments which form the peculiar boast of Egypt. Although he is not the most solid or sober-minded of observers, and though his operations were much obstructed by following the rapid movements of the army, his narrative still contains many things deserving of notice.

Denon did not bestow any particular attention on Alexandria, nor did he minutely examine any object till he arrived at the pyramids. He made a very anxious effort to explore the contents of the great pyramid. The only passage is by three long galleries, two of which are ascending, and one descending. At the end of each there are immense blocks of granite, so placed as to bar all further approach; but these have been cut through by the industry of former inquirers. At the end of the second gallery is a small apartment, called the Queen's chamber, supposed to have been destined for the spouse of the monarch by whom the edifice was built; but it contains neither ornament nor sarcophagus, nor any thing else to confirm the supposition. At the end of the third gallery is found a larger chamber, within which is seen the sarcophagus, for the reception of which this immense structure is supposed to have been reared. This chamber is only one hundred and sixty feet above the basis of the pyramid; and no higher excavations have been made; but as the entire height is four hundred

and forty-eight feet, it is impossible to determine whether farther apartments might not be found in that immense portion which is yet unexplored. The length of the base is seven hundred and twenty-feet. This is called the pyramid of Cheops. That bearing the name of Cephrenes is six hundred and ninety-three feet in length, and three hundred and ninety-eight in height. The pyramid of Miserinus is two hundred and eighty feet long, and one hundred and sixty feet high.

The pyramids are merely monuments of Egyptian labour. The first object which gave our traveller a full idea of Egyptian art, was the temple at Dendera. It is in the purest style of the architecture of that ancient people, which is peculiarly characterized by the walls sloping inward; a structure which Denon extols as at once the most natural and durable, though it seems doubtful if it does not rather recal the infancy and debility of the art. The aspect of the whole is remarkably simple; for, though it be entirely covered with hieroglyphics, these, at a little distance, do not break the unity of the general effect. Some of these hieroglyphics are large, represent living objects, and may rather be considered as sculptures; others are smaller. They are generally divided by Denon into three kinds. The first are merely incisions without relief; the second is in relief, but slight; the third in full relief, on a lower level than

the general outline of the building. These last, undoubtedly the most perfect, are nowhere seen in such perfection as at Dendera. The capitals of the columns consist of a head of Isis, surmounted with hieroglyphics, which is said to produce a very beautiful effect.

The next great ruins surveyed by Denon were those of Thebes. The whole army is said to have made a pause, at the view of the stupendous monuments of this "city of the hundred gates." The two great masses of ruins are on the sites of the villages of Carnac and Luxor. The temple at the former place is undoubtedly the largest in Egypt, and its piles suggested the idea of sculptured mountains. The portico, attached to a very inferior part of it, contains a hundred columns, from seven to twelve feet in diameter. Its architecture, however, is very inferior, in point of elegance and beauty, to that of the temples at Dendera and Edfu. It appears to have been built at that early period, when magnitude was considered as the sole constituent of sublimity. From Carnac to Luxor, there extends, for about half a league, a road, both sides of which are covered with statues, of which the sphinxes are by far the most numerous. The temple at Luxor, though large, is considerably inferior to that of Carnac, but built in a much better taste. The entrance is particularly beautiful, being

composed of two obelisks, seventy feet high, and covered with hieroglyphics.

At another visit Denon examined excavations near Carnac, which were used as houses by the Arabs, but which appear to have been tombs of Egyptian kings. He found them variously adorned with painting and sculpture, and exhibiting in the latter art a perfection far exceeding what he had seen on any of the temples. The figures were not formed on so stiff a model; they possessed more of ease and nature; and groups were often placed agreeably to the laws of perspective. It is remarkable that they did not, as their destination might lead us to expect, represent always solemn, or even serious subjects. They exhibited often pompous and shewy processions, sometimes even rope-dancing, and animals placing themselves in ludicrous attitudes.

At Medinet Abu, in the neighbourhood of Carnac, Denon examined those two colossal statues, which bear the name of Memnon. So gigantic is their height, as to make them be discovered at the distance of four leagues. Their attitude, however, is not graceful, and they are entirely destitute of expression.

The next ruins, very deserving of attention, are those of Edfu, the ancient Apollinopolis Parva, of which drawings had already been given by Pococke and Norden. Our traveller viewed them

with very particular admiration. Though not so vast as those of Thebes, they appeared superior in elegance to any, except those of Tentyra, and in some respects even to them.

The progress of the French army carried our traveller to the island of Philæ, which he had an opportunity of minutely examining. The surface, about six hundred yards in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth, is almost entirely covered with the remains of ancient edifices. Denon conceived, that he discovered the remains of eight temples, erected at different periods, and in different styles of architecture. Each successive edifice had been built so as not to injure those previously standing; but, at the same time, without any attention to make it harmonize with them. An extreme confusion of styles was thus produced, which, however, produced often picturesque and striking effects. From the observations here made, Denon inferred, that the ancient Egyptians first built their walls in a rude state, then smoothed them, next added the hieroglyphics, and finally adorned them with stucco and paint. He found parts of edifices in all these successive stages. He observed also nine species of capitals, all which, to his true Egyptian taste, appeared beautiful.

As the French army did not extend its head-quarters to the southward of Syene, our traveller had no opportunity of tracing higher those won-

ders of antiquity, which the banks of the Nile every where presented.

In 1801, Mr Hamilton set out from Cairo, with the view of examining the antiquities of Upper Egypt, and, if possible, of penetrating into Nubia. He did not, however, make his way beyond Philæ, and his tract did not thus extend farther than that of Denon. His descriptions of the same objects, however, are good, and may be consulted with advantage by the antiquary; but, from the minute details of which they consist, do not easily admit of abridgment. Mr Hamilton's admiration of Philæ seems to have fully equalled that of Denon. He remarks, that the sculptures have evidently been studiously defaced, probably by the fanatical zeal of the early Christians. Near Syene, Mr Hamilton particularly examined a temple supposed by Pococke to be the celebrated observatory of that place. He employed a number of men and boys for several days in digging, with the hope of discovering the well, where, at the summer solstice, the sun's disk was said to be reflected entire. He was obliged to leave the place, however, before arriving at any object which could reward the investigation. The temples of Edfu, of Thebes, and of Dendera, are particularly described by Mr Hamilton. He admired much also that of Esne, commonly supposed to be the ancient

Latopolis, a derivation, however, the correctness of which he is inclined to doubt.

That spirit of enterprise, by which English travellers have of late been so remarkably distinguished, has extended itself to the course of the Nile above Egypt; a tract which has been proved to exhibit a continuation of that series of wonders, which mark every part of its progress from Cairo to Philæ. Of this spirit of inquiry, the only detailed result which has yet been laid before the public, consists in the recent narrative of Mr Legh. We shall take it up at the cataracts above Syene. Mr Legh confirms the report of all modern travellers, that these cataracts present nothing of the grandeur which some passages in the ancient writers would lead us to expect. It may perhaps be a question, whether these writers did not confound this with the yet unexplored cataract of Genadil? Those of Syene are formed merely by the river forcing its way in a contracted channel among rocks of granite, or rather syenite, which form several ledges across it; but boys, for a trifle, will swim over them. The aspect of the scene, however, is very imposing. "The wild disorder of "the granite rocks, which present every variety "of grotesque shape, the absence of all cultiva- "tion, the murmur of the water, and the sa- "vage and desolate character of the whole scene, "form a picture which exceeds all power of de-

" scription." On passing this cataract, the aspect of the country is entirely changed. The valley of Upper Egypt, which had not before extended above a few miles in breadth, is entirely closed in, and the mountains scarcely leave a few patches, on which dates can be planted. The varied population of Egypt disappears, and is supplanted by a native race called Barabras, the same which, on Atlas, are called Brebers or Berebbers, for the tribe of Nuba, who have given name to this portion of Africa, are situated much farther up, and to the west of Abyssinia. The Barabras are described as rigid Mahometans, yet a harmless, frank, and honest people. At Siala, Mr Legh met a chief, called the Douab Cacheff, from whom he met a hospitable reception, and ready permission to proceed up the river. Passing Deghimeer and El Umbarakat, at which last place there are considerable ruins, the travellers arrived at Kalaptsh, situated three miles above an island of the same name, and which presented a magnificent temple, though in a state of great dilapidation. Soon after, they came to a still more remarkable object, the excavated temple at Guerfeh Hassan, which appeared to Mr Legh superior to every thing else he had seen both above and below Syene. The outer court is sixty-four feet in length, and thirty-six in breadth. The interior consists of three chambers, the largest of which is forty-six and a half feet in length,

thirty-five wide, and twenty-two in height. The entrance into the chambers is formed by three immense columns, to which are attached double the number of colossal statues, each eighteen and a half feet in height. The whole is cut out of the living rock, and forms certainly a work of immense labour, though, in comparing it to the general scale of Egyptian architecture, the praises of Mr Legh may appear somewhat extravagant. These excavations bear such a resemblance to the Indian ones of Elephanta and Ellora, as may indicate an early communication between the two nations; unless we suppose, that the same state of government and society might in both cases produce similar effects.

At Dakki, nine miles above Guerfeh Hassan, was found a temple, in very fine preservation. The height of the propylon is fifty feet; the front ninety, and the depth at the base eighteen feet. The temple itself, sixty-six feet distant from the propyloi, is eighty-four feet in length, thirty in breadth, and twenty-four in height. The hieroglyphics are almost quite entire, and many Greek inscriptions are cut on the propylon. The next remarkable temple is that at Sibhoi, which presented a specimen of pure Egyptian architecture. It appears, however, to be of an earlier date, and built in a ruder style, than those below the cataracts; but it is much better preserved. This is imputed to the

mild and equable climate. The only source of destruction to which it is exposed, consists in the accumulation of sand which is wafted by the winds of the desert, and which seems gradually encroaching on all the cultivated districts in this part of Africa.

On the ninth day after leaving Syene, Mr Legh arrived at Dehr, the residence of Hassan Cacheff, the sovereign of this district. The Cacheff, a tall handsome young man, was half drunk when they were introduced. He asked them roughly what they wanted, and why they came to Dehr? On coming to particulars, it was intimated, that a fine Damascus blade, worth 500 piastres, would secure permission to proceed up the river. This arrangement had not entered into Mr Legh's contemplation; in lieu of the sword he proffered a watch, being the present destined for the Cacheff; but it was contemptuously rejected, as an article of the use of which he had not the remotest idea. Mr Legh was, therefore, finally obliged to produce the sword, and he then received permission to proceed in any direction he chose. The next stage was Ibrim, about half a day's journey beyond Dehr; but it had been entirely destroyed by the Mamelukes. The recent communication with the Cacheff, however, seems to have cooled our traveller's zeal for proceeding farther; he returned to Dehr, and from thence again descended the Nile.

Mr Legh is not the only traveller who is now endeavouring to penetrate Africa in this direction. At Siout, and near Dehr, he met a gentleman bearing the name of Shekh Ibrahim, but who was in reality a Mr Burchardt, employed in exploring the continent under the auspices of the African Association. He had first been robbed, and detained prisoner for six months among the Bedouin Arabs. Before the last interview he had been living in the villages of the desert, upon lentiles, bread and water, which had given him altogether the thin and meagre appearance of a common Arab. He set out, however, full of enterprise and enthusiasm, for the southward. His spirit, knowledge of languages, and talent for observation, appeared to fit him very peculiarly for this undertaking.

Another English gentleman, Mr Banks, has pushed on as far as the second cataract, or that of Genadil. This is ground trodden by no modern European; for Bruce struck off near Chendi, and crossed the desert *east* of the Nile to Syene; while Poncet travelled from Siout to Moscho, through the desert, on the *west* of that river. Mr Banks's observations are said to be very important. He discovered the remains of statues which somewhat surpass even the colossal proportions of the Memnonian. One, which was buried in the ground, presented a head measuring twelve feet from the chin upwards; which, allowing seven heads for the di-

mensions of the body, would give a height of eighty-four feet. In another place, the whole side of a mountain was cut away, so as to form a perpendicular wall, chiselled out into regular columns with capitals, and adorned with numerous hieroglyphics; the whole forming the front of a magnificent temple. He brought away also a number of inscriptions and paintings, the latter representing chiefly animals and ancient religious mysteries.

The Mamelukes, it appears, in their flight from Egypt, have established themselves at Dongola, where they have formed a species of petty state. They have addicted themselves to pasturage and agriculture, and have even built a few vessels upon the Nile. Their number does not exceed five hundred; but they have armed three or four thousand of their negro slaves, and have built a wall round Dongola, to protect it against the Arabs. Their chieftain, Osmyn Bey, made a vow, that he would neither shave his head nor his beard, till his triumphal entry into Cairo; but this promises to be quite an empty threat. Their establishment at Dongola, however, must form a barrier against any European traveller penetrating farther in this direction.

CHAPTER III.

BARBARY.

First Voyages to Morocco.—Voyage of the Jesus to Tripoli.—Captivity of Mouette.—Windhus's Journey.—Shaw's Travels.—Lempriere.—Recent accounts by Jackson, Keating, Ali Bey, Macgill, Blaquiere, and Tully.

UNDER the name of Barbary has been included, in modern times, the long tract of sea-coast, extending from the western frontier of Egypt to the extremity of Morocco. The whole of this region was subdued by the Saracens during the first era of their power, and the Mahommedan faith, in its most bigoted form, has ever since been fully established throughout it. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were truly formidable to the states of Europe, by their naval power and piratical disposition. It was chiefly from the wretched captives whom they dragged into bondage, that any accounts of their internal constitution was obtained. The narratives of these persons were, at the time, very numerous; we shall only select a few which appear curious and authentic.

The first English voyage to Barbary, of which there is any record, was performed in 1551. The

master was Thomas Windham; but Hackluyt* has preserved a letter from one James Alday, who asserts that he was the first contriver of this branch of trade; but being seized with the "great sweat," was obliged to devolve the execution upon another. No narrative is preserved of the first voyage; but Windham set out on the second, in May 1552, and on the Monday fortnight thereafter, arrived at Saffi; he there took in refreshments, and proceeded to Santa Cruz. A French vessel was lying in the harbour, which, "not knowing whether "it were war or peace," shewed some hostile symptoms, but desisted, upon proper explanations being given. The English were then welcomed on shore by the viceroy, and spent three months in unlading the cargo, and taking a new one on board. Their import cargo was composed of woollen and linen cloth, coral, amber, jet, and "divers "other things well accepted of the Moores." They received in return sugar, dates, almonds, and molasses. Touching at Lancerotta, they were attacked by the Spaniards, and did not make off without considerable loss.

In 1583, a voyage was undertaken to Tripoli by the ship Jesus.† The master's name was Hel-

* Vol. II. Part II. p. 7, 8.

† Ibid. Vol. II. Part I. p. 184.

lier; but Romane Sonnings, a Frenchman, was to have the chief management of the trade. They arrived there, discharged their cargo, and took in a lading of oil. Their first ground of dissatisfaction arose from the *king*, as the basha is here called, demanding custom for the oil, after having promised to deliver it custom free. Such, however, was the treachery of infidels, that, "albeit he was a king, he caused the said Sonnings "to pay the custom to the uttermost penie." But this was only the dawn of their affliction. There was an Italian, named Patrone Norado, who remained in pledge to a Turk for a certain sum of money. This person made an arrangement with the French factor, that, as soon as the vessel had left the harbour, he should come on board and make his escape; which was accordingly effected. The Turk, to whom Norado was pledged, having preferred his complaint, the king sent out a boat, desiring Sonnings to come on shore, without specifying the cause. Sonnings refused, upon which the Turks immediately began to fire. As they were unable to make any impression on the English vessel, the king went to the *Banio*, or slave prison, and proclaimed, that any slave who could point a successful fire against the vessel, should receive his liberty and a hundred crowns. A Spaniard undertook the task, and, with three shots, reduced the ship to such a condition, that she had no alternative, but to

return into the harbour. The Spaniard, however, received neither his liberty nor his crowns, but was forthwith remanded to his prison, "whereby may "appear the regard that the Turke, or infidel, "hath of his worde, though he be a king."

The English were immediately led before the royal tribunal, and after a very short examination, the master and factor were condemned to be hanged, one over the eastern, and the other over the western bulwark. The English, however, by earnest entreaty, procured the life of their master, and he was sent to the Banio along with the rest. Meantime, some of the king's officers represented to him, that, unless the master were hanged, the vessel could not, by law, be made prize, nor the crew converted into slaves. The king, therefore, sent for him again, opened a new trial, and pronounced the sentence of death, by which, says the author, "all true Christians may see what trust to "put in an infidel's promise, who, being a king, "pardoned a man now, and, within an houre after, "hanged him for the same cause before a whole "multitude." The master, however, resolved to save his life by becoming a Mahometan. Proceedings were immediately stopped, and all the requisite ceremonies were performed for his complete abjuration of the Christian faith. Instead, however, of being dismissed, as he expected, the king only congratulated him on the felicity he enjoyed, of dying in the true faith, and going direct

into paradise; upon which he was immediately suspended over the bulwark.

The English were now doomed to meet all the horrors of Moorish slavery. They were carried in a galliot to attack a Greek vessel, which was known to be at the distance of 240 leagues. They were chained three and three to an oar, naked above the waist, while the master and boatswain stood, the one *afore* and the other *abaft*, with huge whips, which, "when their divel-"ish choler rose," they employed with or without reason. On returning, the captives were employed to hew and carry stones for the building of a church. Three times a week they went to the distance of thirty miles to bring fire-wood to the city. They set out at seven at night, and arrived next morning at the same hour. The writer was surprised to see nothing like a wood, but "a stick "here and a stick there, about the bignesse of a "man's arme, growing in the sand." The party, however, began to pull up these twigs by the roots, and by taking "a little at one place and a little at "another," at length succeeded in loading their camels.

The captives having succeeded in conveying intelligence of their situation to their friends in England, Queen Elizabeth, on the 5th September 1584, wrote to the Grand Signior, who sent instructions to the Basha to liberate the men, and re-

store the merchandise. The Basha, who was then subject to the Porte, did not venture to disobey.

On the 31st July 1670, a vessel, on board of which was the Sieur MOUETTE, set sail from Dieppe for the Caribbee Islands. They spent some time in an English port, which they left in the beginning of October. On the 16th, they came in sight of two vessels bearing Turkish colours. These vessels having come within speaking distance, assured them that they were Algerines at peace with France, and, therefore, French subjects had nothing to fear; they only wished to send two or three of their people on board, to examine if any of the crew belonged to other nations. The moment the Moors came on board, they drew out their concealed weapons, and attacked the French. Our author was immediately seized by "a devil of a black," who held a battle-axe over his head. In this predicament, he did not deem it prudent to offer any resistance, but quietly yielded himself. They were immediately carried in to *Sale* (Salee), the centre of the piratical trade of Morocco. They were then conducted to the slave market, and exposed bare-headed to public auction. The purchasers directed their chief attention to the hands, in order thence to conjecture the quality of their purchase. A knight of Malta, with his mother, were sold for 1500 crowns. Mouette, after being

well walked about, brought 360. His master, Maraxchy, then carried him home, and shewed him to his wife, who gave him a good meal of bread, butter, honey, and dates. His master then took him aside, exhorted him to keep up his spirits, and inquired what were his relations, and his means of ransom. Mouette, in hopes of obtaining liberation at an easy rate, pleaded the most entire poverty; declaring, "if a penny were to purchase "his liberty, he could not give it." Maraxchy then warned him, that he must write to his relations, and endeavour to raise something by way of alms. "For, if you will not, we shall load you "with four chains, beat you like a dog, and starve "you in a dungeon." This information put an end to the author's protestations of absolute want, and he immediately wrote to his brother, whom he addressed as a cobler, imploring him to beg as much as forty or fifty crowns, to relieve him from captivity.

Mouette had no reason to complain of his treatment in this house. His hardest labour was to grind corn with the hand-mills used in this country; and, "misliking this occupation," he produced such unsavoury flour, that his functions were soon confined to the keeping of a single child. He acquired completely the favour of his mistress, who not only shewed him every kind of good treatment, but offered him, if he would become a convert, a

rich and beautiful niece of her own in marriage. Mouette declined it, on the polite plea, that had she herself been the prize, he would not have hesitated. Unfortunately, our author did not belong to his present master alone, but was a joint concern of four persons. One of these, Hamet Ben Yencourt, began to make strict inquiry as to the measures taken for turning the property to account. The master replied, that he had not been able to extract from him any farther information than has been already here mentioned. Yencourt declared, that, if the captive were put into his hands, he would employ effectual means of rendering him more communicative. This proposition being acceded to, our author experienced a most doleful change. He was reduced to brown bread, and obliged to lie at night in a *mazmorra*, or dungeon, so dismal, that the gloomiest prisons of Europe seemed luxurious in comparison. These dungeons were dug under ground four or five fathoms in diameter, with a narrow opening at top, which is shut in by an iron grate. Into this abode they were let down by a ladder of ropes, and, when within it, lay in a circle, with their heads to the sides, and their feet in the centre. As the place became warmed, and the damp began to exhale, the atmosphere became quite intolerable. Their labour consisted chiefly in masonry, which was peculiarly laborious, as the walls were built of earth, dragged up by pullies alone, without any

other machinery. If ever a moment's remission took place, a discharge of stones immediately warned them of the necessity of proceeding. Time was not even allowed to eat their morsel of bread; they were expected to eat with one hand, and work with the other. When illness was complained of, there was one only remedy, which was conceived to be equally salutary and cheap. It consisted in heating an iron rod, and applying it red hot to the part affected. Many of the slaves consequently chose rather to conceal their sufferings, than to enjoy the benefit of this cure.

This state of affairs induced our captive, as his master had calculated, to abate somewhat in the reports of his own poverty. He enlarged his offer of ransom successively to four hundred, to five hundred, and to six hundred dollars; which last sum was at length acceded to. Unfortunately, the communication with Europe was so imperfect, that he was not able to obtain its remittance. Meanwhile his master was called to Fez by the emperor Muley Semein. Suspecting that this command boded him no good, he vented his chagrin upon the slaves, and immediately began to deal blows among them without mercy. Some were killed, and our author thought himself to have escaped well, in having merely his head battered, and his whole body bruised. They were then conveyed to Fez, where the master, though suspected

of treason, was pardoned; but he soon after engaged in a revolt by Muley Hamet against Muley Semein. Hamet being defeated, all the slaves belonging to himself and his partizans were forfeited to the emperor. Mouette being of this number, was carried to Mequinez, where extensive works were carrying on. Here he found himself in a worse situation than ever. They were met at the castle gate by a black "of a prodigious stature, "a frightful aspect, and a voice as dreadful as the "barking of Cerberus." He had a staff in his hand entirely proportioned to his own size, from which each, as he entered, received a salutation. They were then furnished with enormous pick-axes, to pull down old walls, where they were kept at work incessantly; and, if any one took a moment's respite, "he received his reward immediately." Whenever this personage went away, he left substitutes, who were anxious to prove their zeal by the blows they inflicted, and made besides large reports to him on his return; none of which were thrown away. His voice, calling in the morning *come*, *quick*, "put such life into them," that every one strove which should be foremost, knowing how surely the last would feel the weight of his cudgel. One day, as the king was passing, they took the opportunity of throwing themselves at his feet,—many of them with their wounds yet bloody. The monarch shewed some signs of com-

passion, but did nothing in consequence; and their tyrant, exasperated at this appeal, redoubled his fury, and "never gave over till he had sent above "twenty to their graves." They at one time had determined to kill him when he made his nightly survey; but, "when it came to the point, no man "would strike first;" and he, suspecting somewhat of their intention, never again returned by himself. They next attempted to poison him in brandy, which they were obliged to furnish; but he obtained a scent of their intention; and these abortive efforts, by the exasperation which they produced, inevitably rendered their bondage more dreadful. Their only deliverance arose from the plague, which began to rage in Mequinez, and swept away a large proportion of the inhabitants. It first made an end of their tormentor; and then, by the general disorganization which it produced, enabled them to obtain a greater portion of liberty. They began to manufacture brandy, which they sold to the Moors; they even set up a table for cards, and another for dice; and, from the profit of these institutions, established a fund for the relief of their sick. At length, in 1681, a body of Fathers, *Mercenarians*, arrived from France, and obtained their ransom.

Some particulars are given of the modes in which the slaves attempted to escape. The regular mode was to bury them in a ditch, leaving only the head

above ground, then covering it with weeds, and surrounding the place with ordure. This took place on the Friday afternoon, when the Moors were all engaged in prayer, and only one keeper left, whom the captives kept close engaged in conversation till the burial was effected. The fugitives then set out when it was dark, and had the advantage of travelling all night, till their flight was discovered. At one time they undermined their dungeon, and seventy-five made their escape at once; but all, except twelve, were overtaken and brought back.

Mouette, when in Barbary, heard of the trade to Sudan and *Tomboutou*, exchanging salt for gold dust, which was called Tibir. He says that several Moors of Dras and Tafilet described it to him as carried on in the manner so often reported, by the parties laying down the commodities in each others absence, and departing without being spoken to or seen. When the Moors arrived at the spot, they found a single Arab, there stationed by order of the Alcair, who alone spoke and arranged the manner in which the transaction should take place. Severe punishment is said to be inflicted upon those who are guilty of any irregularity in the conduct of this business.

In 1721, Commodore Stewart, who was commanding a squadron off the coast of Morocco, was instructed to proceed to the residence of the em-

peror, to demand the redemption of captives, and conclude a permanent treaty. Mr WINDHUS, who accompanied him, has written a very good account of this embassy.

They landed at Tetuan on the 6th of May. The Basha, who did not expect them so early, was not arrived; but they found a number of handsome tents pitched for their accommodation. A liberal entertainment was soon provided, consisting, besides abundance of cuscusu, of a sheep roasted whole, upon a spit the thickness of a man's leg, and which was set down, "spit and all." The Basha having arrived, gave a very courteous welcome, and entertained them with a charge of cavalry. The movements were irregular, but the horsemanship admirable. The Basha was soon after invited to sup with the ambassador; on which occasion he was led to transgress the Mahometan law of abstinence from strong liquors. In such cases the Moors have no idea of any moderation, but empty whatever is placed before them. They in consequence replenished so copiously, that some could not go home without help; and the Basha began to draw his scimitar, and lay about among his people, proceeding very contrary to his usual mild disposition.

A more serious disturbance soon after occurred. The Moorish privateers had been instructed to commit no farther depredations on English vessels; but two from Salee, having been long at sea, and

meeting none except English, "grew very hun-"gry, and made bold with two of them." The ambassador absolutely refused to proceed farther, unless reparation was made for this outrage, upon which he had the satisfaction of seeing the ships released, and the privateers punished.

The houses of Tetuan are good; but the streets are extremely narrow, with no appearance of windows, except some small holes to look out at. They are lighted from a square court in the interior. They are generally only two stories high. The roofs are flat, and the Moorish women, who live in the upper apartments, walk and pay visits along them. Their mode of building is to make a large wooden case, into which they put the mortar; and when it is dry, take away the case. The Basha is quite absolute in the province, and can take from any one houses, lands, horses, or whatever he pleases; so that every one conceals any portion of wealth which by trade or industry he may have acquired.

The females, as in all Mahometan states, are most rigidly confined. Many Moors, when their wives were at the greatest extremity, rather suffered them to die, than send for a Christian physician; even those who did so, delayed till they were at the point of death, when no remedies could avail. The ladies, however, when they met Europeans in the fields, or saw them from the tops of the houses, very readily took the opportunity of favouring them

with a view of their persons. They were in general enormously fat, but had very fine eyes, and many of them beautiful skins. The cheeks were painted with cochineal, which at first was yellow, but on being rubbed, soon became red; with this they made a great round spot on each cheek. Their eyebrows and eyelids were painted black, while black patches and lines were drawn in various directions over the face and breast.

In eating, the Moors make use neither of tables nor chairs. The dishes are placed on a piece of greasy leather, round which they sit cross-legged on the ground. Their dishes are made of pewter or earthen ware, narrow below, and wide at top, almost like a high crowned hat, turned bottom upwards. The favourite dish is cuscusu. In killing any animals, they turn its head towards Mecca, make a short prayer, and then cut its throat. Their hatred of Christians is unbounded. They have three gradations of reproach; the first is "cuckold;" the second "Jew;" and the last "Christian." None, who have not witnessed the utter abomination in which Jews are held, can feel the full force of this preference. All games of hazard are prohibited; "eating, drinking, sleeping, women, horses, and prayers," engross nearly the whole of their time.

This author agrees with all others, as to the veneration in which saints are held in Morocco. It

is difficult to say how men are raised to the character of saints; any extraordinary qualification, any remarkable crime, sometimes pure idiotism, raise them to this rank. Several of the emperor's horses were saints; one in particular was held in such reverence by that monarch, that any person who had committed the most enormous crime, or even killed a prince of the royal blood, if he took hold of the sainted horse, was perfectly secure. Several of the captives had saved their lives by this manœuvre. It is judged a peculiar favour, if, after the emperor and the horse have successively drunk, the bowl is handed to any third person. The superstitions prevalent in this country are extremely various. One of the most general is that of "evil "eyes," which seems, indeed, to exist more or less in almost every nation. The emperor of Morocco is said to have kept a favourite son constantly shut up, lest he should be exposed to this fatal influence. When rain is wanting, they endeavour to extort it by pure clamour and importunity. The children run about the streets, often for eight successive days, screaming with their whole might. If they fail, the saints and learned men join in the cry, and at last the emperor unites his voice. Should all these vociferations fail, they then thrust the Jews out of the town, with injunctions not to return, unless accompanied by rain; arguing, that their importunities will be so noisome, as must

compel the Deity, out of pure self-defence, to grant the boon required.

On the 13th of June, the embassy set out for Mequinez, where the emperor then resided. On their way, they saw a number of dwaries (dowars), or moveable villages of the Arabs. These villages are built in the form of a ring, leaving a large vacant space in the inside; the shiek's house stands in the centre. In the plains of Fez, there are said to be three hundred thousand of these people; in Morocco only a hundred thousand; but in Suz, a very great number. When they wish to remove to another place for the convenience of provisions or water, they load all their goods on their camels and oxen, on whose backs they also place their wives and children in large wicker baskets, and thus journey till they have found a convenient settlement.

On the 3d of July, the embassy arrived at Mequinez, and, on the 6th, it was announced, that they would see the emperor. They entered the outward gate, and, passing through four large courtyards, came to some piazzas, where they sat for about half an hour. The monarch then appeared on horseback, with an umbrella over his head, and his guards behind, ranged in the form of a half-moon. When they came within fourscore yards of him, he alighted, and prostrated himself to the earth in prayer. He remained for some minutes

in that posture, with his face so close to the ground, that, in rising, the dust adhered to his nose. The ambassador bowing as he approached, the emperor nodded his head, and said several times *Bono*. When the letter from the king of Great Britain was taken out of a silk handkerchief and presented, the prince declared his love of the English, and his readiness to grant every request made by them. He spoke so much himself, that it was difficult to bring him to any precise stipulations: but when the treaty of peace was at last laid before him, he declared his satisfaction with its contents, and though his word was sufficient, yet would sign it for their satisfaction.

The emperor, Muley Ismael, was eighty-seven years old, and bore traces of the infirmities belonging to so advanced an age. He had lost all his teeth, breathed with difficulty, and had a severe cough. His beard was thin and very white; his eyes much sunk. He was still very active, however, and his eyes had not lost all their fire. He had reigned fifty-three years, having, in 1672, succeeded to his brother, Muley Arschid, of whom he was not the rightful heir; but being governor of Mequinez, and having thus a considerable force under his command, he dethroned and put to death Muley Hamet, his nephew. The cruelty of this extraordinary barbarian soon began to manifest itself. It produced at first some salutary effects;

the laws were vigorously enforced; the roads were cleared of banditti, by whom they had been infested; travelling was rendered secure, and the kingdom preserved, during his long reign, in a state of tranquillity. His executions, however, were not confined to those who had given just cause of offence; he maintained always the habit of putting to instant death all who became the objects of his capricious resentment. The instruments of his violence were a body of eight hundred negro guards, who formed his chief confidants, and were carefully trained to their functions. He tried their temper by furious beating, and sometimes laid forty or fifty of them at his feet sprawling in their blood; when such as shewed any sensibility to such treatment, were considered wholly unworthy of being attached to the person of his majesty. These negroes, on the slightest signal, darted like tygers on their victim; and not content with killing, they tortured him with such fury, as reminded the spectators of "devils tormenting the damned." A milder fate awaited those whom the emperor killed with his own hand. He merely cut off their heads, or pierced them at one blow with a lance, in the use of which instrument he was very skilful, "seldom "letting his hand go out, for want of practice." When he came out in the morning, an awful observation was made of his aspect, his gestures, and even the colour of his clothes; yellow being his "killing

"colour." When he killed any one through mistake, or momentary gust of passion, he made an apology to the dying man, saying, that he had not intended it; but that it was the will of God, and that his hour must have been come. Those, however, who had an opportunity of closely observing him, reported that he was agitated by frequent and terrible remorse; that in his sleep he was often heard starting wildly, and calling upon those whom he had murdered. Not unfrequently, even when awake, he would ask for persons whom he had put to death only the day before; and, on being told they were dead, inquired with emotion, "Who kil-"led them?"—when the attendants, unless they felt an inclination to follow, were careful to answer, "they did not know, but supposed God kil-"led them;" after which no farther inquiry was made. The greatest favourite he ever had was a youth of the name of Hameda, son of the guardian of the slaves, whom, when a boy, he distinguished for his spirited conduct at the siege of Tarudant. This youth, being of a gay disposition, was soon admitted to the greatest familiarity, and was even allowed the singular privilege of entering the gardens, while the emperor was attended by his women. He was jocularly called Basha, by way of pre-eminence to all other Bashas. All this did not prevent the emperor, in a fit of passion, from beating him so violently, that he died soon after.

He expressed deep regret, however, at this event, and was often heard, when he believed himself alone, calling on the name of Hameda.

This extraordinary personage made high pretensions to sanctity, and was an eminent expounder of the Mahometan law. Whenever he was to do any thing extraordinary, he held his face close to the ground, in the manner already described, when he was believed to be in conference with God or Mahomet, and to act entirely by their direction. For these pretensions he is said to have obtained full credit from his subjects, who believed him a descendant and peculiar favourite of Mahomet, and incapable of doing any thing amiss. His great delight consisted in building and throwing down; which was carried to such an extent, that if all his erections had stood, they would have reached from Fez to Mequinez. This course he defended, by the necessity of keeping his subjects in perpetual occupation, in order to preserve them from mischief. He compared them, by an odd metaphor, to rats in a bag, who, unless they were perpetually shaken about, would speedily eat the bag through.

On the arrival of the embassy at Mequinez, the whole number of Christian captives was 1100, of whom about 300 were English, 400 Spaniards, 165 Portuguese, 152 French, 69 Dutch, 25 Genoese, and 3 Greeks; there were besides nineteen English, and a few of the other nations, who had

become Mahometan. All the English who still adhered to their religion were now liberated.

About the year 1720, Dr Thomas Shaw was appointed chaplain to the factory at Algiers, in which capacity he resided there for about twelve years. During this period he made frequent excursions through the interior of Algiers and Tunis, a region which the jealousy of the natives has, in almost every other instance, shut against Europeans. His travels do not contain any notice of his own adventures; but they relate, in a very minute and detailed manner, all the leading objects of nature and art which these two kingdoms present.

Dr Shaw's attention was peculiarly drawn towards the remains of Roman art and magnificence, with which almost the whole of this region is covered. Carthage, indeed, the greatest name in ancient Africa, presents no ruins that are not subterraneous. Among these, the most remarkable is the great reservoir for containing the water conveyed into the city, and which consists of twenty contiguous cisterns, each one hundred feet in length, and thirty in breadth. There are, besides, numerous private cisterns. But the most splendid monument connected with Carthage is the great cistern, by which water was conveyed from the mountain of Zowan, a distance of fifty miles. At the village of Arriana, near Tunis, a long range of

its arches may be seen in an entire state, seventy feet high, and supported by columns sixteen feet square. The channel, through which the water passed, lies along the top of the arches, and is of sufficient dimensions to allow a person of ordinary size to walk through. It is discoloured to the height of three feet, by the passage of the stream through it.

Constantina, the ancient Cirta, in the eastern part of the Algerine territory, has its site entirely covered with broken walls, cisterns, and other ruins. The aqueduct and cisterns are particularly sumptuous. Shaw mentions also an altar of white marble; a bridge with various sculptured ornaments; and a large gate, built of a beautiful reddish stone not inferior to marble. Shershel, the ancient Julia Cæsarea, inspires also a high idea of its ancient magnificence, by the fine pillars, capitals, capacious cisterns, and beautiful Mosaic pavements, that are everywhere remaining. The aqueduct, by which the water of the river Hashem was conveyed into this city, appears by the fragments scattered in the neighbouring valleys, to have been little inferior to that of Carthage. The ancient harbour appears, by some revolution of nature, to be now sunk under the waves; as, when the water is low, the remains of its numerous pillars and massy walls are discovered. Spaitla, the ancient Suffetula, contains remains of extraordinary beauty, among which are distinguished a triumphal arch of

the Corinthian order, and three temples, the greater part of which is entire. Bruce mentions here a composite temple, which appeared to him the finest specimen of that order existing. El Gemme is distinguished by the remains of an amphitheatre, consisting originally of sixty-four arches; and four orders of columns one above another. The upper order has tumbled down; and Mahomet Bey, in using it as a fortress, blew up four of its arches; in other respects, this magnificent edifice is nearly entire. At Kairwan is a mosque, the most magnificent as well as sacred in Barbary, composed, in a great measure, of the remains of ancient edifices. The number of granite pillars was reported by the natives (for no Christian is allowed to see it) to amount to five hundred.

Shaw, who did not observe the most westerly ranges of the Atlas, conceives the elevation of that chain to have been exaggerated. In skirting the territories of Algiers and Tunis, it does not rise above the loftier eminences in our own country; and the greater part of its declivity is planted with vines and olives. On the southern side it slopes downwards into a region, called the Bled-el-Jereede, or Dry Country, unfit for grain, and almost solely employed in the production of dates. It is remarkable, although the want of water be so characteristic of this territory, that, on digging to a certain depth, that element is always found in such abun-

dance as to be called the "sea under ground." The inhabitants consist of various tribes of Arabs, who are but half tributary to the neighbouring governments of Algiers and Tunis. The cultivated land of Barbary, called commonly the Tell, does not usually extend more than a hundred miles inward from the sea. It is most exceedingly fertile, being well watered by the numerous streams descending from the Atlas. The soil is of the same sandy character, as over all northern Africa; but this quality, amid such copious irrigation, does not diminish its fruitfulness; it serves merely, by loosening its texture, to make it easily worked. The soil is everywhere impregnated with saline particles. Few countries abound to such a degree with salt. Almost all the lakes, and many of the springs, are equal in this respect to the sea; and in the territory of Tunis, there is not a single spring of fresh water. The salt found in the interior of Morocco, though abundant, is red, and of a coarser quality than that which is procured by evaporation from the sea coast.

The wild animals of Barbary are the lion, the panther, the wild boar, the hyæna, called here the dubbah, and the antelope. The domestic animals do not materially differ from those of Europe. Barbary horses have been highly esteemed, but the practice prevalent among the chief men, of seizing the best of them by violence, has much discouraged

the breed. The cows are bad; the ass and mule are chiefly employed in labour. The noxious tribe of serpents abound in an extraordinary degree. The boa constrictor, that enormous species, before the view of which armies are reported to have fled, makes its appearance on the borders of the Sahara. The chief annoyance of the inhabitants is from scorpions, which swarm to such a degree as to fill even the houses. Their bite, however, though poisonous, is not mortal; not at least in those which occur in the cultivated tracts on the sea coast. The most terrible scourge which the animal creation presents are the locusts. They are common, indeed, to all Africa; but the desert seems here to pour them forth in extraordinary multitudes. They move in vast bodies, like armies; and every attempt hitherto made to stop or to divert their progress, has proved completely abortive.

Shaw was peculiarly struck by the total downfall of those sciences, of which Barbary, at no distant period, had been the favourite seat; particularly the various branches of mathematics and chemistry. The author saw quadrants, astrolabes, and other mathematical instruments, constructed with very considerable ingenuity; but they were merely kept as antique curiosities; neither the mode of their construction, nor their actual use, being at all understood. Of arithmetic, which has been said to be invented by the Arabs, not one in twenty

thousand can now perform the most elementary operations. Medicine and chemistry are in a state of equal depression; nor do there appear to remain even any traditionary practices to attest the period when these sciences formed the glory of the Saracen name.

In 1789, a request was transmitted to Mr Matra, British consul at Tangier, from Muley Absulem, the favourite son of the emperor of Morocco, that an English medical man should be sent, to relieve, if possible, the precarious state in which his health then was. Liberal promises were made to the person who should undertake this journey. Mr LEMPRIERE, surgeon, then resident at Gibraltar, was induced to consent, and obtained thus very intimate views of the manners and interior arrangements of this barbarous court.

The prince being resident at Tarudant, Mr Lempriere travelled in the first instance along the coast of Morocco, but, till his arrival at Tarudant, nothing particularly novel occurred. This city, formerly the capital of a kingdom, is now only the chief place of the province of Suz, and a great part of the space enclosed within the ancient walls is unoccupied. The houses have apartments only on the ground floor, and as each is surrounded by a garden and wall, with numerous palm trees intermixed, the whole has the appearance rather of a collection of hamlets, or even of coun-

try houses, than of a city. It lies twenty miles south of the Atlas, and may be considered as the frontier town of this part of the emperor's dominions; for the tribes of the Sahara pay a very nominal and imperfect obedience to him.

Lempriere was well received by the prince, and immediately began to exercise his medical functions. The patient's complaint was in his eyes, the sight of which he had almost entirely lost; one of them being affected by a cataract, and the other by a gutta serena. The prospect of a cure did not appear to Mr Lempriere very favourable; especially as there were many obstacles to the administration of the requisite medicines. First, it appeared impossible to the prince, that any thing received into his stomach should produce any effect upon his eye; then he was assured that European medicines would produce some pernicious, and even fatal effects on his constitution. However, upon being persuaded to make a trial, he found such benefit, as not only induced him to persevere, but raised Lempriere to great favour. Meantime, the ladies of the harem were also anxious to receive the advice of an European physician; but it was with the utmost difficulty that Lempriere could obtain the means, either of gratifying his curiosity, or of forming a correct judgment of their situation. The first lady to whom he was introduced had a curtain drawn quite across

the apartment; from under which, having placed him on a low stool, she put out her hand, in order that her pulse might be felt. It was expected, that by it he would at once discover the nature of the disease, its seat and various symptoms, and the means of cure. She was much surprised, and even indignant, when questions were put to her upon these topics. The doctor, however, insisted that an examination of the tongue was absolutely necessary, expecting that he would thus at least behold the face of his fair patient. After much hesitation, however, she caused a slit to be made in the curtain, through which the tongue was thrust, without any other part of her person being at the same time exposed.

The next patient was one affected by a scrofulous complaint in the neck. He soon persuaded her of the necessity of shewing him the seat of the disease. He found her very handsome; and she offered him large presents, with still more liberal promises, on condition of his curing her. She was much surprised when he spoke of this as at all a doubtful event, saying she always understood a Christian physician could cure every disease.

As our physician advanced in favour with the prince, the same reserve was no longer enforced, and he was frequently admitted while the ladies were present. He found them uninformed, awkward in their manners, and vain of their persons to a child-

ish degree. They expressed the utmost amazement at learning that he could read and write, and observed thereupon, that the abilities of the Christians appeared almost miraculous. None of themselves possessed such a measure of learning, and they were equally destitute of elegant accomplishments. They received, indeed, daily lessons of music; but noise, in this performance, seemed viewed as the principal requisite.

After a residence of five weeks, and before the prince's cure was completed, Mr Lempriere received an order to repair to the court of Morocco. The road led him over one of the loftiest branches of the Atlas. He found it composed of rocky cliffs, perpendicular and tremendous precipices, with deep and beautiful valleys intervening. In these valleys were numerous huts of the Brebes or Brebers, a hardy native race, who inhabit nearly the whole of this mountain chain. Their habitations are rudely built of earth and mud, and walled in; and some, in the highest parts of the mountain, make their abode in caves. Their favourite instrument is the musket, and they are excellent marksmen. Each village chooses its own sheik, so that they exhibit the only trace of a republican constitution that exists in northern Africa.

On Lempriere's arrival at Morocco, he soon learned the cause of his abrupt removal from Tarudant. The emperor was dissatisfied that the young

prince should have sent for him, without any authority from himself; and he was also assured, that European medicines were too violent, and would have a pernicious effect on his son's constitution. He deferred seeing him, however, until he could obtain precise accounts of the state of the prince's health. His mind, meanwhile, being occupied with other matters, Lempriere fell into total oblivion, and as he could not stir from Morocco without the emperor's express permission, the period of his detention there appeared altogether indefinite. Luckily, he performed a cure upon the wife of a Jew, whose wealth gave him great influence at court, and whom he intreated, in return, to procure him, if possible, the desired interview. To his great surprise, the very next day, three negro soldiers appeared with enormous clubs, and informed him, that the emperor must see him instantly. Lempriere entreated a few moments to adjust his dress, but they warned him, that if he delayed an instant, they would return and report him as having refused to obey his majesty's orders. They then set off, running at full speed, and Lempriere was obliged to follow. After all this furious haste, he was kept standing five hours at the outer gate, without being called. He was then sent for, and hurried through several courts in the most rapid manner. He found the emperor sitting in a European post-chaise, with a body of troops drawn

up in a half-moon behind him. He addressed, with a haughty air, a series of questions, which evidently shewed the suspicious light in which he viewed our traveller. He inquired, by what authority he had come into the country—where he had learned his profession—whether the English or French surgeons were best, observing, that a French surgeon had killed a number of people—why he had forbid Muley Absulem the use of tea—and, if tea was unwholesome, why the English drank so much of it? Satisfactory answers being made to these interrogatories, his majesty softened, and began to converse pretty familiarly. He pointed to the snow on the Atlas, observing, that any one who should go to the top would die of cold, and that beyond was a fine and fertile country, named Tafilet. In the course of conversation it transpired, that he had caused Lempriere's medicines to be privately examined by his Moorish physician, who had found nothing improper. He concluded, by saying, that he would send him home to his entire satisfaction. Lempriere now conceived, that his prospects had at length cleared up; and the attention which he met with from the principal persons connected with the court, tended to confirm this belief. But the emperor, whose faculties began to be impaired, seemed again to lose sight of him; and Muley Absulem, who happened to come to court,

treated him with neglect and ingratitude. He began to lose hopes of ever escaping from Morocco, when a message arrived from the emperor, desiring him to repair to the harem, and attend one of his sultanas. All deliberation on the subject was superseded, by considering, that the emperor's request had the full force of a command. He was immediately conducted to the harem, that sanctuary which no European had ever before entered. The door being opened, presented a wide court, filled with a motley group of concubines, domestics, and negro slaves, all seated on the ground, some conversing in circles, some employed in needle work, others in preparing cuscusu. A general alarm spread through the whole of this group at the appearance of an European; some fled precipitately to their apartments, others clamorously demanded the cause of his entrance. The moment, however, that they learned who he was, and that he came by the emperor's permission, they all emerged from their hiding places; the words "Christian doctor" resounded through the hall, and a close circle formed round our traveller, all at once enumerating complaints, real or imaginary, thrusting forward their hands to have the pulse felt, and even pulling him by the coat to attract his attention. Far from deporting themselves with that awful reserve usually ascribed to Mahometan ladies, they did not even confine

themselves within the limits of common decorum. It seemed, at first, vain to attempt moving forward; but the eunuch, by employing the most violent measures, effected a passage, though the crowd still followed to the door of the apartment. The Sultana, whom they found sitting cross-legged on a mattress, was named Lalla Zara, and was in a very melancholy situation. Some years ago she had been extremely beautiful, and the favourite wife of the emperor; when her rivals, moved with envy, formed the detestable plan of destroying her by poison. It was accordingly administered; and though the strength of her constitution enabled her to resist its mortal effects, they entirely ruined her health, and with it that beauty on which her influence depended. Her complexion was entirely altered, her countenance ghastly, her teeth spoiled, and her skin changed to a sickly brown. Lempriere's humanity struggled with his desire to depart, which would be opposed by engaging in a cure that threatened to be tedious. He resolved, however, to make a trial for a fortnight, and prescribed the requisite medicines. On departing, he was called to the apartment of the first wife, Lalla Batoom. This proposal was startling, as no permission was given, or could be intended by the emperor, thus to perform the circuit of the seraglio. Curiosity, however, prevailed. He found Lalla Batoom a model of Moorish beauty, about forty, immoderately fat, with round

cheeks, painted a deep red, small black eyes, and a countenance entirely devoid of expression. Her complaint was a cold, brought on solely by the vehement desire of seeing an European physician. When the prescriptions were over, she immediately proceeded to examine minutely his dress, and make particular inquiries as to his person and country. Tea was then served, and he departed, but was immediately called in to Lalla Douyaw, at present the favourite wife. This lady was a native Genoese, and being shipwrecked on the coast of Barbary at the age of eight, was introduced into the emperor's harem, and compelled to change her religion. Her beauty and accomplishments soon raised her to the rank she then held. As she could write and read, she was viewed by all the rest as a sort of superior being. She retained so much of her European recollections, as to observe, that "she was among a very uncouth and "ignorant people."

The number of females composing the harem were from fifty to a hundred, besides domestics and slaves. They lived in about twelve squares, each consisting of four rooms, surrounding an interior court. The two principal wives had each an entire square, the rest only a single apartment. The rooms were ornamented with beautifully carved wood, the walls hung with rich damask, and the floors covered with beautiful carpets. The sa-

lary allowed by the emperor was very slender, that of the principal wife not exceeding half-a-crown a day; the deficiency was made up, not very creditably, by presents from foreign ambassadors, or other persons who had favours to ask from the emperor.

Lempriere, seeing no prospect of effecting his departure, thought himself justified, by necessity, in having recourse to stratagem. He informed his patient, that he could not complete her cure without going himself to Gibraltar for the necessary medicines. The lady gave into the snare, and solicited the emperor so earnestly, that he at length granted our traveller permission to depart.

From the time of Shaw and Lempriere, Barbary was visited by very few travellers, till the interest, excited by recent political events, drew forth a series of narratives, which have again brought us well acquainted with this quarter of the world. Colonel Keatinge has published "Travels in Eu-"rope and Africa, comprising a Journey through "France, Spain, and Portugal, to Morocco.* This journey, however, being performed in 1785, does not bring down the information much later than Lempriere. A Spaniard, travelling in the character of a Turk, and assuming the name of Ali Bey, has pub-

* 4to, London, 1816.

lished "Travels in Morocco, Tripoli, &c." * He landed at Tangiers, where he saw the emperor; then passed through Mequinez to Fez, in which last place he resided a whole winter; after which he returned to the coast, and embarked at Larache for Tripoli. His subsequent travels, and his visit to Mecca, though the most curious part of the work, it does not enter into our plan to notice. Mr Grey Jackson, after residing for some years in a commercial capacity at Santa Cruz, published an account of the empire of Morocco, † but without any narrative of personal adventures.—Mr Macgill, having visited Tunis as a merchant, has given a description of the city and government. ‡ In Mr Blaquiere's letters from the Mediterranean, § the second volume is devoted to an account of the present state of Tunis and Tripoli. A lady, who resided in the family of Mr Tully, ten years consul at Tripoli, wrote a journal of her residence there, ‖ which is exceedingly interesting, and gives a very intimate view of Mahometan manners. From these copious sources, it will not be difficult to extract a satisfactory view of the recent changes, and present state of Barbary.

The reigning emperor of Morocco is named Muley Soliman. He is about forty; is in his ap-

* 2 vols. 4to, London, 1816.
† 1to, London, 1809.
‡ 8vo, Glasgow, 1811.
§ 2 vols. 8vo.
‖ 4to, London, 1816.

pearance rather handsome, and possessed of a quick comprehension. Ali Bey saw him first in his camp, which he makes his constant residence, neglecting the palaces of Morocco and Mequinez, and despising all the pomp with which his ancestors were accustomed to surround themselves. Like his predecessors, he pretends to high eminence as a doctor and expounder of the Mahometan faith; but is exempt from the cruelty so characteristic of Moorish sovereigns. He viewed with great interest the philosophical apparatus, and particularly the electrical machine in the possession of Ali Bey, and made curious inquiries into their structure and use. That traveller was much surprised when he received a present wrapped up in a cloth, which, on opening, proved to be merely two black loaves; but he was assured that this was the highest testimony of regard which the Sultan could bestow, and amounted to declaring him his brother.

Fez was supposed by Ali Bey to contain one hundred thousand inhabitants. It exhibits a singular mixture of splendour and ruin. The walls to the street are built of earth, and in many places cracked and tumbling down. All the magnificence, as usual in Mahometan countries, is spent upon the interior. Here are found spacious courts; and the apartments are painted, adorned with arabesques, and often decorated with gold and silver. The markets of Fez are immensely crowded, as

there is no other place which can be called a town in this part of the kingdom; and the wandering inhabitants of the surrounding districts resort thither to purchase every article of which they stand in need. Fez retains also some shadow of that fame for learning, which was once so eminent. The studies are confined to the Koran, and its commentators, to a slight tincture of grammar and logic, and to some clumsy astronomical observations, for computing the time of their religious exercises. They have Euclid in great folio volumes, neither copied nor read. The teacher sits cross-legged on the ground, and sings or cries, in a lamentable tone, words which the scholars, sitting round him, repeat. Anatomy is prohibited by their religious prejudices, and medicine, as a science, is totally unknown.

The two most eminent saints at present in Morocco are Sidi Hamet and Sidi Alarbi; and scarcely any thing is done throughout the empire without their being consulted. The character of saint is not understood to imply any measure of austerity or self-denial. It is solely supported by the power of foretelling the future, and of working miracles. The districts which these saints inhabit pay no tribute unless to them; and the revenues, as well as the ample offerings poured in from all quarters, are employed in supporting an armed force, by whom they are constantly surrounded. They keep wives and con-

cubines, in as great number as their revenues will maintain, without any apprehension of their sanctified character sustaining thereby the smallest injury.

Ali Bey saw, and was on an intimate footing with, Muley Absulem, the prince whom Lempriere was sent for to attend. He was now entirely blind.

Mr Jackson has given a statement of the population of Morocco, said to be extracted from the Imperial Register, which makes it amount to 14,400,000. This seems a very great exaggeration. When we consider, that the *douars*, or villages, are all migratory; and when they have exhausted one spot, find, without difficulty, another in which to establish themselves, it must be clear how inadequate this state of culture is to support such density of population. Perhaps even Chenier's estimate of six millions may be somewhat overrated. The commerce of Morocco, particularly with Europe, is severely fettered by the bigotry of the reigning emperor. It is now strictly confined to the port of Mogodor; and the exportation of grain, though the most abundant product, and indeed a complete drug, is entirely prohibited. This impolitic restriction is become almost general through the Barbary states, and is, I suspect, a measure of state policy employed by the rulers, to give satisfaction to the soldiery and

the inhabitants of the towns, on whose good disposition they depend almost entirely for continuance in power.

The sovereign of Tunis is called Hamooda Bey, and is a person of extraordinary vigour of character. He has now reigned twenty-nine years, without any attempt being made to shake his authority, a circumstance almost unique in a Moorish reign. It is the more singular, from his not being the legitimate heir to the throne, which, according to the regular order of succession, ought to have descended to his two cousins; yet he not only allows them to live, but continues on habits of intimacy with them, without any dread of the consequences. He superintends himself all the departments of government, and decides, in person, all the questions of civil or criminal justice. He has entirely thrown off the yoke of the Turks, and extends the protection of the law to Christians and Jews, who before were considered as entirely without the pale. Tunis has, therefore, under his government, assumed a much more mild and civilized aspect than formerly. His chief fault, as a sovereign, is boundless avarice, which, in the administration of justice, makes his hand ever open to bribes, and, in commerce, leads to the most oppressive monopolies. His ministers and favourites, as happens usually in such barbarous despotisms, are drawn from the very dregs of the people. The

Zapatapa, or keeper of the seals, and the commander of the army, are both Georgian slaves; and the guardian of the captives, a post of great profit and dignity, is a Neapolitan renegado.

Tripoli groans under a much severer tyranny. At the commencement of the present century, Hamet the Great freed that state from the Turkish yoke, by an indiscriminate and barbarous massacre of all the chiefs of that nation. His vigorous and active administration not only rendered Tripoli independent, but established its power over the neighbouring tribes. The crown became no longer elective, but descended in a regular line through his family. At the time when Mr Tully and his family resided there, the Basha had reigned in a very mild manner for nearly thirty years, and Tripoli had assumed, in a great measure, the tranquil and orderly aspect of an European state. The seeds of disorder, however, were already at work. The Basha's eldest son, called the Bey, was of a mild and respectable character; but a younger brother, Sidi Useph, or Jussuf, was deeply stained with all the vices of treachery, avarice, and cruelty, which spring so copiously in this region. He rendered himself formidable, by selecting from among the wild Arabs of the neighbourhood, and the negro slaves, a band, who were ready to second him in every desperate enterprise. A violent dissension, fostered by opposition of

character, had long reigned between him and his eldest brother. At the entreaty of the relations, an apparent reconciliation took place, and Useph himself proposed to seal it by a solemn vow, at an interview which should take place in the apartment of their mother, Lilla Halluma. They met there accordingly, when, after some amicable conversation, Useph called loudly for the Koran, "which was the signal he had given "his infernal blacks to bring his pistols, two of "which were immediately put into his hand, and "he instantly fired at the Bey as he sat by Lilla "Halluma's side on the sofa. Lilla Halluma, rais-"ing her hand to save her son, had it most ter-"ribly mangled by the splinters of the pistol, which "burst, and shot the Bey in his side. The Bey rose, "and seizing his sabre from the window where "Lilla Halluma had laid it, he made a stroke at "his brother, but Sidi Useph instantly discharged "a second pistol, and shot the Bey through the "heart. Sidi Useph, on seeing his brother fall, "called to his blacks, saying, 'There is the Bey, "finish him.' They dragged him from the spot "where he lay, yet breathing, and discharged all "their pieces into him. The Bey's wife, Lilla "Aisher, hearing the sudden clash of arms, broke "from her women, who endeavoured to restrain "her, and springing into the room, clasped the "bleeding body of her husband in her arms, while

"Lilla Halluma, endeavouring to prevent Sidi "Useph from disfiguring the body, had thrown "herself over it, and fainted from the agony of "her wounded hand. Five of Sidi Useph's blacks "were at the same time stabbing the body of the "Bey as it lay on the floor; after which miserable "triumph, they fled with their master."

Whether from favour or fear, the Basha made no attempts to avenge this horrible crime; and soon after its commission, Useph celebrated a splendid festival, "where the sound of music, firing, "and of women hired to sing and dance, were "louder than at the feast of a wedding."

Some years after the Basha died, and was succeeded in the first instance by his son Sidi Hamet; but Useph, taking advantage of his absence, seized upon the city, and shut the gates against his brother. This wretch, therefore, now tyrannizes over Tripoli.

Some curious particulars are given by Mr Tully's female relation respecting the manners of the Moorish ladies, which she had peculiar opportunities of observing. They are generally Georgian or Circassian slaves, purchased at an early age, and trained in all the arts and accomplishments, which can render them objects of attraction. They are kept in a state of the strictest seclusion, and never go out unless rarely by night, attended by a numerous train, who announce their approach by shouting and lights, when no one must meet, or even

look at them, under pain of death. They do not, however, spend their time in that supine indolence which has been often imputed to them. They knit, weave, and embroider; they pay particular attention to cookery, in order to guard against the danger of poison; and they find much employment in superintending the labours of their numerous slaves. On some, their confinement seemed to weigh heavily; but in general, they were far from melancholy.

The toilet is an occupation, in which much time and expence are employed, though natural charms are rather obscured than embellished by it. The lady of rank in dressing is attended by a number of female slaves, to each of whom a particular department is assigned. One plaits the hair, another perfumes it; a third arranges the eye-brows, a fourth paints the face, and so on. Perfumes and scented waters are lavishly poured upon the hair, and a vast quantity of powder of cloves is stuffed into it; the eye-brows, besides being painted black, are shaped by having a number of the hairs pulled out. Even the fingers and feet are blackened with henna. In short, the full dress of a Moorish lady employs several hours, and forms then so complete a disguise, that her nearest relations cannot recognise her. On great occasions, the display of jewels, and of gold and silver ornaments, is very profuse. A bride is described to have received com-

pany, so loaded with them, that if she had attempted to rise, she could not have supported their weight.

The same narrative gives some striking particulars of the ravages committed by the plague at Tripoli. At first, only an obscure rumour of its existence began to be circulated, and the European residents were earnestly entreated by the Basha not to augment the alarm by shutting their houses. The deaths, however, multiplying, they determined upon that step. It consisted in the entire exclusion of the natives, unless at one particular time of the day, when a person, hired for the purpose, came in, placed provisions in the lobby, with a note of the value, and immediately departed. The plague now raged more and more, and the funerals became daily more numerous. At first they were conducted with order, and with all the splendour which the relatives were able to afford; but as the malady became universal, all distinction ceased; the Cologli, a species of militia, went round once a day for the dead, fastened their bodies to the horses, and carried them to a common place of sepulture. A full third of the inhabitants died, and as a great number fled, the place appeared, on the cessation of the plague, to be a complete wilderness. All the cities of the east, commonly at no very distant periods, are laid waste by a similar desolation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WESTERN COAST.

Sierra Leone.—Bulama.—Captain Beaver.—The Gold Coast.—Whidah.—Dahomey.—Reports of African Institution, and Committee on Africa.

THE first person in England who proposed a specific plan for the colonization of Africa, upon liberal and philanthropic principles, was Dr H. Smeathman, in his letters to Dr Knowles, in 1783, who conceived the design during a residence of some years in that country. This plan he originally designed to submit to the respectable society of the Quakers, who, in an hour of real inspiration, had first emancipated their slaves in North America. Before this period, indeed, Dr Fothergill had suggested the propriety of cultivating the sugar-cane in Africa, where it is indigenous, and thrives luxuriantly. In 1784, the Rev. James Ramsay published an Essay on the Treatment of Slaves in the British Sugar-colonies, which alarmed the planters so much, that, by maliciously endeavouring to ruin the reputation of the author, they excited that investigation which

they feared. In 1785, the University of Cambridge proposed a question concerning the slavery and commerce of the human species; to a Latin Essay on which subject, by Mr T. Clarkson, the first prize was adjudged. An English translation of this Essay was soon after published, which was followed by other two, at different periods, "On "the Impolicy of the Slave-trade," and "On the "Inefficacy of its Regulation." By means of these publications, such horrid mysteries of iniquity were unveiled, that the friends of human nature caught the alarm, the Society for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade was formed, and WILBERFORCE introduced the subject into the British Parliament, and prosecuted his design with such disinterested zeal and indefatigable perseverance, as must not only endear his name to the virtuous of every age, but class him with the great benefactors of human nature. During the American war, many negroes, (according to the humane maxims of war,) who had been invited to take up arms and massacre their masters, had entered on board the British ships of war, or repaired to the British standard, where they had been formed into regiments of rangers. At the termination of the war, in 1783, they were dispersed, with the white loyalists, among the Bahama Islands and Nova Scotia, while many were conveyed to Great Britain, especially to London. There, indigent and idle, despised and forlorn, they were soon vitiated

by intercourse with their profligate countrymen, who, having contrived to convey themselves from the West Indies, infest the streets of London. As this evil had acquired considerable magnitude, a Committee was formed for the relief of the black poor, at the head of which appeared the benevolent Jonas Hanway. With this Committee Mr Granville Sharp, the indefatigable benefactor of the Africans, and Dr Smeathman, zealously co-operated. In 1786, the latter published his "Plan "of a Settlement to be made near Sierra Leone, "on the Grain Coast," for the establishment of blacks and people of colour, as free men, under the direction of the Committee for relieving the black poor, and the protection of the British Government. To this plan the Committee annexed a hand-bill, inviting all persons of the said description, who were willing to become colonists, to apply to Dr Smeathman, to whom they had entrusted the formation of the settlement. In consequence of this measure, above four hundred blacks, with about sixty whites, but who were chiefly women of abandoned character, debilitated by disease, were embarked on board the transports furnished by government, with provisions, arms, and instruments of agriculture, and conveyed to Sierra Leone, where they arrived on the 9th of May 1787. As the exertions of Dr Smeathman had been terminated by his dissolution, and the cause of humanity had

been deprived of an active and intelligent friend, whose benevolence and generosity were only equalled by his capacity and perseverance, the formation of the settlement was committed to Captain Thompson of the Nautilus, by whom a district of land, about twenty miles square, for the establishment, was purchased from king Naimbanna, and the chiefs his vassals. The site of a town was immediately chosen, on a rising ground fronting the sea, a store-house was founded, and land distributed, by lot, to the colonists. But the immediate prospect of labour, instead of producing that harmonious exertion which their situation required, only excited turbulence and licentiousness; indolence and depravity so generally prevailed, that hardly a man could be induced to labour steadily in erecting the hut by which he was to be sheltered, or in unloading the provisions by which he was to be supported. Their constitutions had been originally weakened by disease, which, during their passage, had been aggravated by intemperance, debauchery, and confinement; the rainy season commenced before they could be prevailed on to form huts for their shelter, and such a dreadful mortality ensued, that, at the departure of Captain Thompson, on September 16th, the colony was reduced by death and desertion to 276 persons. As the excesses of the most incorrigible had accelerated their dissolution, the survivors, per-

ceiving, at the departure of the vessels, that, without industry, their destruction was inevitable, began to plant rice and Indian corn. The sickness, soon after, entirely ceased, but the habits of many of the colonists still continued; addicted to intoxication, many sold their arms and musquets for rum, and afterwards emigrated to the adjacent slave-factories. By a slight species of agriculture, and a great increase of poultry, the remainder subsisted for some time; but as the most industrious were unable to purchase live-stock, and were disappointed of intended supplies, by the knavery of an unprincipled shipmaster, this partial emigration still continued till November 1789, when the infant colony was dispersed and their town burnt, by an African chief, in revenge of some depredations committed by a slave-factor, to whose party two of the colonists had been compelled to serve as guides. The colonists who escaped found a temporary asylum at Bance Island factory, and at the town of a native chief, who, compassionating their distress, received them under his protection. These were collected by Mr Falconbridge, who was employed in the beginning of 1791, by a number of gentlemen, anxious for the civilization of Africa, associated under the name of the St George's Bay Company, to carry out stores for the relief of the dispersed colonists, and to form them again into a permanent settlement. Mr Falconbridge found

the original colonists, though still turbulent and disorderly, warmly attached to their European friends, and ready to concur in any measures for their mutual security; but much more formidable obstacles presented themselves, in prevailing upon the native chiefs to ratify the surrender of territory which had been formerly occupied. The only property with which the savage is acquainted, consists of the fruits of the earth, his ornaments, arms, and instruments of hunting and fishing. He changes his habitation according to convenience, and never thinks of buying or selling the earth upon which he roams at large. His own possession of territory is temporary; he cannot therefore believe that any cession is perpetual. He admits a colony, because he imagines it consists of his friends, or because the colonists have purchased his friendship; but as soon as he changes his opinion, or withdraws his friendship, he thinks himself completely justified in resuming that right which he had abandoned without reflection. After a palaver held for the purpose, and considerable altercation, Mr Falconbridge repurchased the former territory, on condition of building his colonial town in another situation. The restored colony was accordingly placed at Granville Town, which had been deserted by the natives from superstitious motives, at a small distance from the ruins of Free Town, its former situation.

While Mr Falconbridge was attempting to retrieve the ruinous affairs of the colony, the members of the St George's Bay Association were incorporated by act of Parliament, under the name of the Sierra Leone Company, to continue for the space of thirty-one years, from the 1st day of July 1791. By the act of incorporation, a Court of Directors, consisting of thirteen persons, chosen by the members from among themselves, every year, was to be invested with the management of the Company's affairs; the Company, its agents, and servants, were prohibited from engaging in the slave-trade, and appropriating, or employing slaves in their service; and his Britannic Majesty granted to the Company an exclusive right to the lands of Sierra Leone, purchased, or to be purchased, from the native chiefs. The Directors of the Company, conscious of the immediate necessity of giving a permanent foundation to their establishment, dispatched five vessels, without delay, to Sierra Leone, to convey stores and articles of trade, artificers, soldiers, and a few select English settlers, with a council for the government of the colony. Considering the stability and security which a colony derived from numbers, connected by a common interest, and at the same time aware of the danger that would necessarily result from the intrusion of idle, unprincipled, or extravagant Europeans, impatient of subordination, of despe-

rate fortunes, or doubtful characters, they determined to discourage the promiscuous emigration of their countrymen, and to endeavour to find a class of settlers more able to endure the vicissitudes of the climate, and the insalubrity of the uncultivated soil. Many of the black loyalists, at the termination of the American war, had been conveyed to the Bahamas and Nova Scotia, where they had experienced a treatment which they did not scruple to denominate a second servitude. In the Bahamas the black code of laws received in the West Indian Islands prevails, according to which every black is presumed to be a slave, unless he can prove his freedom; and the evidence of a negro is not admitted against a white man. Every free negro, therefore, who cannot produce formal proof of his freedom, becomes *ipso facto* the slave of any unprincipled white, who chooses to swear that he is his property. Of these laws, the white loyalists, who had found an asylum in the Bahamas, untaught by adversity to sympathize with the unfortunate, availed themselves against the black refugees, with such flagrant injustice, that their conduct occasioned the interference of the governor. In Nova Scotia, where they had been promised lands, the same disposition appeared, though it did not proceed to such violent excesses. The lands allotted them were almost sterile, as the most valuable were engrossed by the whites; and

of the privileges of British subjects, particularly the trial by jury, they were entirely deprived. Persons accustomed to the service of slaves, became too effeminate to support themselves without them. In the West Indies, the deepest distress of a ruined planter is expressed by the significant phrase, "Poor man, he has but one negro "left to bring him a pail of water." In these islands, Europeans find the climate too hot to subsist without slaves; and in Nova Scotia, a chief justice declared publicly from the bench, that it was too cold. The free negroes, finding that no redress of their grievances could be obtained, and guessing what treatment they had in future to expect, deputed one of their number to represent their situation to the British ministry. In consequence of his representations, it was determined, with the consent of the Directors, that all who were discontented with their situation in Nova Scotia, and were willing to fix their residence in their native Africa, should be conveyed to Sierra Leone at the expence of the government. Lieutenant Clarkson, brother of Mr T. Clarkson, whose humane exertions have already been mentioned, was commissioned to repair to Nova Scotia, and propose to the free blacks the terms upon which the Sierra Leone Company was willing to receive them, and afterwards to superintend their emigration. The proposals of the Company were accepted with the utmost eagerness;

about twelve hundred blacks embarked with the greatest alacrity for Sierra Leone, where they arrived in March 1792. This accession of numbers inspired the colonists with additional energy, and induced the Company to exert themselves with redoubled vigour. The Directors increased their capital by subscription, in order to support an establishment proportional to the extent of their plan; they sent out considerable stores, both to supply the exigencies of the colony, and to enable their commercial agent to establish a trade with the Africans in the native productions of the country; they adopted active measures for cultivating the most profitable tropical produce; and, in order to discover new articles for commerce in the district of Sierra Leone and its vicinity, they engaged Mr A. Nordenskiold, an able mineralogist, and Mr A. Afzelius, an excellent botanist. The original settlement of the free blacks was again chosen as the most eligible situation for the colonial town, and great exertions were made to erect habitable huts before the commencement of the rainy season. But the exertions of the colonists, and the precautions of the Directors, in sending out frames of houses, materials for building, and various stores, were insufficient to prevent excessive indisposition, which occasioned discontent and depression of spirits, suspended labour and aggravated expence, nearly decimated the blacks, and carried off almost the half

of the whites living on shore. The increased price of provisions and European goods, occasioned by the Republican war, the unexpected sterility of the soil in the vicinity of the town, with the inefficiency of the original council of government, which occasioned great irregularity, prodigality, and waste, for some time retarded the progress of the colony; but after Mr Clarkson, whose transactions with the Nova Scotians had given such universal satisfaction, was invested with the sole power, order and energy were restored, periodical reports, minutes of council, and journals, were regularly transmitted to the Court of Directors, general harmony began to prevail, new plans of police were formed, the public works were rapidly advanced, and the natives began to divest themselves of suspicious fears, and view the improvements without apprehension or jealousy. After the expiration of the office of Mr Clarkson, the discontent in some degree revived, and the Nova Scotian blacks, irritated by the apprehended misconduct of some of the Company's servants, exhibited indications of turbulence and disorder, and, at last, by means of delegates, presented a spirited remonstrance to the Court of Directors, complaining of the high price of the Company's goods, and the low wages of labour, and that many of the promises made at their emigration had never been fulfilled. These disturbances were, with some difficulty, appeased, and the colony

emerging from its original obscurity, began to attract the notice of all the chiefs on the western coast of Africa, and to receive ambassadors from nations situated at a great distance in the interior parts of the country, when its prosperity was interrupted by a deplorable reverse of fortune. On the 28th of September 1794, a French squadron suddenly appeared in the river, instigated with the hopes of obtaining an immense booty, by an American slave-captain, who imagined that he had been affronted by the governor; and, as the colony had been lulled into a fatal security by the declaration of the French convention, they plundered and destroyed the colonial town without meeting with any resistance. By this attack, the funds of the Company sustained an enormous loss, and the colony was again plunged into that calamitous situation, which the deficiency of provisions and the want of proper shelter had occasioned; but harmony was effectually restored among the colonists, and, by the exertions of the Company, their affairs were soon retrieved from these complicated disasters. The French squadron, which consisted chiefly of privateers, and had been fitted out against the English slave-factories on the coast, by interrupting the traffic in slaves, increased the influence of the colony, and promoted its commercial views.

Soon after the restoration of the colony, in August 1792, Mr Nordenskiold the mineralogist, who had been emaciated with sickness before he

sailed from England, and had afterwards suffered severely from the climate to which he was unaccustomed at Sierra Leone, anxious to fulfil his engagements with the Company, with too great precipitation, before either his health was confirmed, or the rainy season terminated, resolved upon an expedition into the interior parts of the country, where he hoped to find an innocent, hospitable people, among whom he might pursue his researches to his own satisfaction, and the emolument of his employers. Having obtained from the governor and council the most proper goods which the stores contained, for his disbursements on the journey, he proceeded up the river to Robanna, the island where king Naimbanna resided; and afterwards embarking in a sloop, commanded by a white slave-trader, sailed up the river Scassos. Having landed at the distance of twelve miles from Porto Logo, he attempted to proceed thither by land, but was robbed of all his goods on the journey. At Porto Logo, between seventy and eighty miles above Sierra Leone, he fell sick, and was conveyed in a canoe back to the colony, where he arrived feverish and delirious, and expired without being able to give any distinct account of the expedition. Mr Nordenskiold united undaunted resolution to indefatigable application; approbation of the colonial scheme, and attachment to his favourite science, induced him to engage in his laborious researches without any stipulated salary; but to the

excellent qualities of his mind, he did not add that caution which hazardous enterprises demand, that stubborn serenity of soul which accommodates itself to every situation; and thus the world was deprived of his inquiries in a tract which had never been traversed by the enlightened and scientific traveller. About the same period, a voyage was made by the agents of the Company to the island of Bananas, Camarançes river, and Plantain island; which was successful in removing the prejudices that had been imbibed by the native chiefs, from the misrepresentations of the slave-traders; and procured such information concerning the character and political relations of the African tribes as was necessary to direct the intercourse of the colony.

The fertile region which lies between Rio Nunez and the Gambia, is inhabited by numerous independent tribes of Nalloes, Biafaras, Bissagoes, Balantes, Papels, Banyans, and Feloops, which, with a general similarity, exhibit many peculiarities of language, customs, and manners, while the Fouliconda, or towns of the Foulahs, and Mauracunda, or towns of the Mandingoes, continually interrupt and intersect their territories. The Biafaras lie chiefly on the northern side of the Rio Grande, and possess the districts of Ginhala and Biguba.

The Balantes, on the banks of the river Geves, possess a territory about twelve leagues in length,

and of the same breadth, which is supposed to contain gold mines. They sometimes trade with the neighbouring tribes in rice, maize, poultry, oxen, and goats, but never contract marriages with them, nor permit them to enter their country. They are equally industrious and warlike, and never traffic in slaves.

The Papels are an active and warlike people, who possess the island of Bissao and part of the adjacent continent. They speak a peculiar language, and have adopted many customs from the Portuguese, who have been long settled among them. They are reckoned the most skilful rowers on the coast, and are generally at war with all their neighbours.

The Banyans, or Bagnons, who are more civilized than any of their neighbours, are a brave industrious tribe. Their women, when at work, are said, by De la Brue, to fill their mouths with water, to prevent interruption from loquacity. If the author was serious, it is a wonderful proof of their industry!

The Feloops, who possess that part of the coast which extends from Rio St Domingo to the Gambia, are a rude but industrious nation, who have little intercourse with their neighbours. They have always opposed, with success, the attempts of the Mandingoes to subdue them, even when assisted by the Portuguese. Their character dis-

plays considerable energy, as their fidelity is incorruptible, and their affection to their friends only equalled by their implacable resentment against their enemies. They never forget a favour or an injury, and transmit their family feuds from generation to generation. When any person is slain in a quarrel, his eldest son procures his father's sandals, which he wears once a year, on the anniversary of the murder, till he can avenge his death. They trade with Europeans in rice, goats, poultry, wax and honey, and, in their transactions, employ a Mandingo factor, who appropriates a part of the purchase, which is termed *cheating money*, to himself, which he receives when the Feloop is gone. In those parts of the country, where any ravages have been committed by Europeans, they never give quarter to a white man.

The Bissagoes or Bijugas inhabit a chain of low islands, which lie off the Rio Grande. They are tall, resolute, and robust, and adorn their houses with the scalps of their enemies. Impatient of slavery, they murder themselves upon receiving an affront; intrepid in war, they are believed to be sprung from the terrible Giagas or Jagas. They are extremely ingenious, and easily learn whatever they are taught. On Boulama, or rather Bulama, which lies in the mouth of the Rio Grande, and is enumerated among the group of the Bissagoes, a

colony was planted in 1792, by an association who assumed their name from the island. Bulama is about eighteen miles in length, and in some places almost as many in breadth. The land rises gradually from the shore to the centre of the island, which is about one hundred feet above the level of the sea, and lies in N. lat. 11° and W. long. 15° from the meridian of London. When settled by Lieutenant Philip Beaver, who conducted the expedition, it had been for a considerable time uninhabited; the Bissagoes having expelled the Biafaras, the former possessors, and only resorting to it themselves to hunt, and plant maize and rice; it had been at three different times proposed to the French government for colonization; in 1700 by De la Brue, in 1767 by Demanet, and in 1787 by Barber, an Englishman residing at Havre de Grace. The fertility of the soil, its central situation for the coasting trade of Africa, its proximity to the Gambia, Grande, and Nunez rivers, recommended it to the Managers of the Bulama Association as an eligible situation for establishing a colony. As soon as a subscription sufficient to defray the expences of the voyage, and to provide necessaries for the colonists, was raised by the Association, three vessels sailed from Spithead on the 11th of April with 275 persons, conducted by Mr Dalrymple. As the subscription had not only been filled with extreme precipitancy, but the colonists had been

engaged as they presented themselves, without discrimination, the greater number of these persons were unprincipled men, of ruined fortunes and characters, or, as they are described by Mr Beaver, "drunken, lazy, dishonest, impatient, cowards." They had embarked in this expedition, without having considered either the difficulties or the dangers which they had to encounter; without having reflected upon the difference of the situation in which they were to be placed, from that to which they had been accustomed. The views of the subscribers were partly agricultural, and partly commercial. The majority proposed to cultivate cotton, sugar, coffee, tobacco, and indigo, while others expected to establish a lucrative commerce with the natives in ivory, wax, and the other productions of Africa. Some authors affirm, that hope is never so sanguine as when it is without foundation; but whatever expectations were entertained by the colonists before their arrival in Africa, it is certain that these were very soon dissipated. The vessel which first arrived at Bulam having neglected to procure an interpreter, or make any propositions to the Bissagoes, the lords of the soil, immediately landed a party of men to take possession. The Bissagoes of Canabac, who did not clearly comprehend the propriety of this proceeding, surprised this party, killed seven men and one woman, and carried off four women and three children. It is

often very difficult to settle the questions of right and wrong between the rude natives of a country, and the colonists who are permitted to settle in their territories. The original planters of New England having discovered a hoard of Indian corn, belonging to the natives, carried it off for seed, intending, as they said, "to pay the Indians when "the soil paid THEM." The colonists of Bulama, however, can only be charged with want of caution, since the vessels which contained the goods for the purchase of the island, and traffic with the natives, had not yet arrived. Instructed by this preliminary error, Mr Dalrymple embarked his men, and sailed to Bissao, where he found the other vessels. From Bissao he dispatched a sloop, to explain his intentions to the Canabacs, and bring back the women and children who had been taken at Bulama. The embassy was successful, and on the 29th of June 1792, the sovereignty of the island of Bulama was ceded to the king of Great Britain, *for ever* by the kings of Canabac. The cession of the island of Arcas, and of the adjacent land on the continent, was likewise obtained from the kings of Ghinala, on the 3d of August. Though the success of the expedition had, as yet, exceeded probability, the greater number of the colonists were miserably disappointed. Instead of finding mines of gold ready wrought, or sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo, fit for manufacture, they had found

a soil of surprising fertility indeed, but which it was necessary to clear and cultivate before they could derive any profit from its productions. They found that it was necessary to build houses for their shelter, to plant rice and maize for their subsistence; and, therefore, dreading the rainy season, and chagrined at the Canabacs, both on account of the courage they had displayed, and of their indolence in leaving the island in so bad a state of cultivation, they all returned in the same ships to England, except a few who sailed to America and the West Indies; and Mr Beaver remained as chief of the colony, with twenty men, four women, and four children. The judicious discrimination that had been employed in the choice of colonists by the Sierra Leone Company, was one of the original causes which had so rapidly swelled the lists of the Bulama subscribers; here, from inattention to this circumstance, the majority of those who went out with Mr Dalrymple were persons of the most infamous characters and vicious habits. When the numerous convicts of Britain were accustomed to be transported to America, Dr Franklin thought, that the only method by which America could testify her gratitude, was by returning an equal number of rattlesnakes to her mother country. Yet such were the crew of idlers, drunkards, cowards, and assassins, accustomed to live in open violation of law, who were left with Mr Bea-

ver, in a situation where no species of authority could be legally enforced. They had arrived at the most improper season of the year, just before the commencement of the rains; and, as they had brought no materials for building, the timber was then growing in the ground, of which their houses were to be formed. By exposure to the rains, and to the vertical rays of the sun, great sickness and mortality were produced, before any buildings could be erected. As the situation of Mr Beaver precluded every idea of selection, the character of the grumettas, or free blacks, engaged as labourers, was equally execrable with that of the white colonists: about one-fourth had committed murder at Bissao, and numbers were discharged for attempting to stab or assassinate others. This motley and vicious group, not all the fortitude and heroic perseverance of a Beaver, aided by the exertions of some virtuous and respectable colonists, could inspire with a spirit of industry, order, and firmness. Notwithstanding the general sickness and despondency, the blockhouse, for the defence and accommodation of the settlers, was completed in November, and considerable progress made in clearing the ground for plantations. Immediately afterwards, they were alarmed by the visit of an armed body of the Canabacs, commanded by one of their chiefs, notorious for his treachery, and famous for his exploits. He was heard by one of the grumettas declaring to his men,

"That the whites were all dead, or sick, except "the captain; that they were his people whenever "he pleased; that he had put them there, and, "whenever he chose, could take them away; that "*they were his chickens,*" an expression which he commonly applied to the Biafaras, to denote the facility with which they are made prisoners. Though the active force of Mr Beaver at this period only amounted to four colonists and six grumettas, his activity and vigilance so much disconcerted the Canabacs, that they departed without any act of hostility. The panic excited by this visit did not, however, subside at their departure; and Mr Beaver was deserted by all the grumettas except two, who were sent to Bissao for a reinforcement, and by one of the only surviving colonists whom sickness permitted to move. When they left Bulama, there remained only one man fit for duty, and seven that were sick; so that, while another visit of the Bissagoes was hourly expected, the whole colony were hardly able to dig a grave. Before the return of the Canabacs, Mr Beaver had been reinforced by grumettas, and afterwards a much stronger party were deterred from venturing upon hostilities, by the arrival of a British sloop of war in the offing. Till the blockhouse was completed, self-preservation had obliged the colonists to work on the Sabbath, but, from that period, the irregularity was discontinued, and Mr Beaver read prayers at the

usual time, and instructed them in the use of artillery and small arms in the evening. The Biafaras and Papels, as well as the Portuguese of Bissao, had always exhibited the most friendly dispositions. The Biafaras solicited Mr Beaver to form a settlement at Ghinala, and also at Bulola, seventy miles up the Rio Grande; and the king of the Papels had sent a message to the first colonial vessels who arrived at Bissao, to induce them to settle on his territories, engaging to protect them against the Portuguese, who wished to engross the trade of the island. In the meantime, the agents of the system of slavery were not inactive. Mr Beaver's dispatches were detained by the captain to whom they were committed; the colony was represented as infected with the pestilence, and new colonists were deterred from engaging in the expedition. As no vessels arrived with supplies of stores, or additional colonists, the Association being entirely ignorant of the state of the colony; and, as the colonists were menaced with a still more formidable attack of the Bissagoes, Mr Beaver was forced to yield to the repeated solicitations and remonstrances of the remaining colonists, and sailed to Sierra Leone, where he arrived, December 23d 1793, and immediately returned to England. Thus, after the expenditure of L. 10,000, the colonization of Bulama terminated in the evacuation of the island, which, when the character of the colonists is considered, can scarcely be reckoned a subject

of regret to the friends of humanity. It may, however, be regretted, that the indefatigable exertions and powerful talents of the gallant Beaver, which enabled him so long to maintain an ascendancy among such an irregular, mutinous, and disorderly band, in a situation of such difficulty and danger, were crowned with no better success. His conduct continually reminds us of the intrepid courage of Captain Standish, the founder of the colony of New England, the invincible fortitude of Captain Smith, who planted Virginia, and the energy of that Benyowsky, who must be numbered among the most extraordinary characters of his age, whether the variety and danger of his adventures, or the vigour and capacity of his mind, be considered. At his return to England, the Bulama Association, sensible of the value of these exertions, unanimously voted that a gold medal should be given to Mr Beaver, as a testimony of their sense of the ability, zeal, activity, and perseverance, with which, under many difficulties, he had conducted the affairs of the colony.

From the discovery of Western Africa by the Portuguese, to the latter part of the 18th century, the same iniquitous commercial principles continued to regulate the intercourse of white men with their sable brethren, to degrade the negro, and to disgrace the European. The im-

mense edifice of slavery still continued to insult the eyes of the sons of freedom; and, undeterred by the groans of anguish, the clanking of chains, and the echo of the whip that resounded through the pile, free men violated the liberty of which they boasted, by assuming the lash of the task-master. Who first attempted to demolish the infernal prison-house, and to raise over its ruins the temple of freedom? Who first attempted, to vindicate insulted humanity, and to burst the chains which the sanction of ages had rivetted? The Swedish nation may claim the glory of forming the first specific plan for alleviating the evils which the inhuman man-trade has occasioned in Africa; and the Danes of carrying into execution the first agricultural establishment, for instructing the negroes in the cultivation of their fertile soil, and teaching them to avenge their wrongs on the abettors of slavery, by rearing a bulwark for freedom in the Land of Slaves.

The Swedish design of establishing a colony in Africa, which, by its original organization, might exclude every political, financial, and mercantile principle, that appeared inconsistent with the happiness of mankind, though it only terminated in exploring a part of that continent, originated in the purest and most disinterested motives. In the year 1799, some members of a society formed for diffusing those principles of civilization which ap-

peared to be best calculated for promoting social order and general happiness, met at Norkioping in Sweden, to consider the colonization and cultivation of waste lands in Europe, upon philanthropic principles. What seemed impracticable in Europe, from the jarring interests and fluctuating politics of her powers,—the erection of a community, who might have the privilege of enacting its own laws, coining its own money, and exempting its members from imprisonment for debt,—was deemed practicable on the western coast of Africa. To the execution of this plan, which had a more extensive object than even the emancipation of the negro race, the most formidable obstacle appeared to be the opposition which it would necessarily receive from the slave-trade; a specific plan was however formed, and a charter, empowering forty families to settle on the western coast of Africa, under the protection of Sweden, to organize their own government, to enact their own laws, and to establish a society entirely independent of Europe, was procured from his Swedish majesty *Gustavus* III. through the influence of the chamberlain *Ulric Nordonkiold*. The only conditions annexed to those privileges were, that the society should defray the expences of their expedition and establishment, and not infringe the territories possessed or claimed by other European powers. The execution of this plan was, for some time, retarded by

the American war; but, as it was judged expedient, as a preparatory step, to explore Western Africa, the Association entered into engagements with the mercantile house of M. Chauvell of Havre de Grace, to conduct an expedition of discovery at their joint expence. In this expedition embarked *Wadstrom*, who was an enthusiast with respect to colonization; *Sparrman* and *Arrhenius*, who were enthusiasts in natural science; while the enthusiasm of their joint employer *M. Chauvell*, coincided entirely with the financial views of his Swedish majesty, who loved gold much better than any other natural production. These adventurers left Sweden in May 1787, on their journey to Paris, where, through the representations of Baron Stael von Holstein, Swedish ambassador, they, after some delay, procured from the Mareschal de Castries, minister at war and of the colonies, orders to the superindendents of all the French factories, as well as to their consuls on the coast of Barbary, to afford them every possible assistance at the expence of government. They sailed from Havre de Grace, in August 1787, and arrived at Goree about the end of the rainy season, where they were received by the Chevalier de Boufflers with the utmost politeness. His departure to Europe, soon after their arrival, rendered abortive their expectations of assistance from the agents of the Senegal Company, who refused to furnish them with those goods which

were absolutely necessary for their proposed expedition into the interior of the country. The general war, excited by the rapacious and oppressive monopoly exercised by the Senegal Company, whose cupidity even extended to parrots and natural curiosities, rendered the interior entirely inaccessible. These unexpected and irresistible events obliged Wadstrom and his companions to return to Europe, with the observations which they had made on the coast, and the oral information which they had been able to procure concerning the interior regions. To these travellers, Cape Verd appeared to be the most eligible situation for a new colony, but it was claimed by the French, who had twice purchased the whole peninsula. Almost surrounded by the sea, abounding in bold elevations, and rich valleys watered with springs, it seemed to be as healthful, fertile, and defensible, as any part of that coast, within a convenient distance from Europe. After Cape Verd, the most proper situations seemed to be Cape Monte and Cape Mesurado. These districts have been described by Des Marchais, * Villault, Philips, †, Atkins, ‡ Bos-

* The voyage of the Chevalier des Marchais to Guinea, the adjacent islands, and Cayenne, in 1725-6-7, was published by Labat at Amsterdam in 1731, in 4 vols. 8vo, with maps by D'Anville. The Chevalier appears to have been a man of great ability, and an adept in drawing, geometry, and navi-

man, * and Smith, † as pleasant, salubrious, and fertile. Cape Monte is represented as the paradise of

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gation. His engaging address, and knowledge of the numerous languages on the coast, enabled him to gratify his curiosity, by applying to the original sources of information, without hazard of imposition. His observations chiefly relate to the Gold Coast, and the kingdoms of Whidah and Ardra.

† The Journal of a Voyage along the coast of Guinea to Whidah, the island of St Thomas, and thence to Barbadoes, in 1693-4, by Captain Thomas Philips, contains many curious observations on the country, the people, their manners, forts, trade, &c. but is exceedingly verbose, and crowded with minute nautical remarks on the winds, and the course of sailing. It is inserted in the 6th vol. of Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

‡ Atkins' Voyage to Guinea, Brasil, and the West Indies, in his Majesty's ship the Swallow, of which the author was surgeon, was published at London in 1737. He makes many curious remarks on the colour, manners, habits, language, customs, and religions of the negroes, and denies the existence of cannibals among them.

* Bosman was chief factor at the Dutch fort of St George D'Elmina, and composed, about the beginning of the present century, a Description of the Coast of Guinea, divided into the Gold, Slave, and Ivory Coasts, in the Dutch language, which was soon translated into English. His observations are generally exact, though never profound, and he often affects a kind of broad Dutch humour, which bears, however, little resemblance to genuine wit.

† Smith's Voyage to Guinea was printed at London in

Guinea, watered with rivulets and springs, spreading in vast meadows and plains, interrupted by groves perpetually green, the leaves of which resemble laurel. Rice, millet, and maize, are produced in greater abundance than in any other part of Guinea; and orange, lemon, almond, and palm trees, are the spontaneous productions of the soil. It is placed, by D'Anville, in 7° 40′ N. lat. Cape Mesurado, which lies at the distance of sixteen leagues from Cape Monte, is a detached mountain, steep and elevated towards the sea, with a gentle declivity on the land side. The summit forms a level plain. It lies in N. lat. 6° 34′. The adjacent country is extremely fertile, producing sugar-canes, indigo, and cotton without cultivation, with red-wood of the best quality. The natives are of a large size, strong, and well proportioned; their mien is bold and martial; their courage intrepid, and they are tenacious and jealous of their liberty. They think justly, speak correctly, and perfectly understand their own interest, and are therefore fond of gain, while they appear very disinterested. Their friendship is constant, their affection to their

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1745. It seems to have been compiled from some imperfect materials left by Mr Smith, who was surveyor to the Royal African Company, and the accounts of other authors, particularly Bosman, from whom the account of Benin is copied.

children tender, and they are much more jealous of the chastity of their married than their unmarried women. Their women cultivate the fields in concert, educate their children with great care, and exert themselves to acquire and retain the affection of their husbands. More happy than many of their neighbours, they unite elegance with convenience in the construction of their houses, their furniture, and domestic utensils, as well as their manner of eating. The poverty of their language, and the paucity of their ideas, deprive them of the pleasures of lively and variegated conversation, and this deficiency will not be supplied by the prevalent practice of polygamy. The purity of the air, the goodness of the water, the fertility of the soil, and the aversion of the natives to war, and to the slave-trade, render the country extremely populous. Their religion is a kind of idolatry, confused, and void of regular principles. Their fetiches change with their caprice, and seem to be regarded by many as a mere species of household furniture. A negro told Villault, that white men worshipped God, but black men prayed to the Devil, to avert the evil which he caused. When Snock inquired what religion the inhabitants of Cape Monte professed, they answered, that it consisted in obeying their chiefs, without troubling themselves about what was above them. The sun is the general object of their adoration, but their worship is volun-

tary, and unaccompanied with magnificent ceremonies. This description of a people is favourable, if compared with some of the adjacent regions, "where," to use the plain expressions of Loyer, * who visited Issini, on the Gold Coast, in 1701, "we meet with kingdoms whose monarchs are "peasants, towns that are built of nothing but "reeds, sailing vessels formed out of a single tree: "—where we meet with nations who live without "care, speak without rule, transact business without writing, and walk about without clothes:— "people, who live partly in the water like fish, "and partly in the holes of the earth like worms, "which they resemble in nakedness and insensibility." The length of the river Mesurado is unknown, but it originates in a rich country, which the negroes term Alam, or the Country of God.

What the benevolent Wadstrom was unable to accomplish, was effected by the Danes, through the indefatigable exertions of Dr Isert. The mass of information, concerning Africa, which he had accumulated, appeared to be so interesting to the Danish ministry, that he was directed to return,

* Godfrey Loyer, apostolical prefect of the Jesuit Missions to the Coast of Guinea, published at Paris, in 1714, a Relation of a Voyage to the Kingdom of Issini, or Assince, on the Gold Coast of Guinea, with a description of the country, the temper, manners, and religion of the natives.

to make observations on the country. His report was so favourable, that he was then empowered to pitch upon an eligible situation for a colony, and to make the experiment, if he should deem it to be practicable. Dr Isert intended to have made his first attempt on a large and beautiful island in the river Volta; but, being opposed by the natives, through the machinations of the white slave-traders, he fixed upon the mountains of Aquapim, sixty miles above Acra, at the same distance from the western bank of the Volta, which is navigable to the latitude of the colony, and about thirty miles from the river Pony, which is navigable for canoes. The situation is reckoned disadvantageous for commerce, but more salubrious than any other part of the coast. Dr Isert, in his letters to his father, published in 1788, declares, that the natives of Aquapim live in a state of social harmony, which inspired him with the idea of paradisaical happiness and simplicity, and that the soil yielded the most luxuriant crops with very little labour. Guinea corn, millet, and cotton, have been cultivated by the colonists with great success, and the Danish government sent out a skilful farmer to introduce the plough. The exertions of Dr Isert having terminated in his death, Lieutenant-Colonel Roer, who, to great botanical knowledge, added much experience in West Indian cultivation, was appointed to succeed him. Mr Flint, who

superintended the infant colony till his arrival, founded another at the foot of the mountains, nearer Acra, where the soil was extremely fertile, but where the wet and dry seasons were not so distinct as at Aquapim. The sister of this gentleman, with that humanity which distinguishes the softer sex, accompanied her brother to Aquapim, for the purpose of instructing the natives in needlework, cotton-spinning, and other branches of female industry.

The district of Acra, which contains Aquapim, is subject to the king of Aquamboe, whose maritime territory is very inconsiderable, though one of the most powerful princes on the coast of Guinea. The Aquamboans are a bold martial race of men, and, like the other Coromantyn negroes, as the natives of the Gold Coast are denominated, extremely addicted to war, in which, from the fluctuating nature of their government, they are continually engaged. Their chief exercises unlimited despotism, and hence the proverbial saying on the coast, that at Aquamboe, there are only two classes of men, the royal family and the slaves. The Aquamboans are formidable to all their neighbours, though frequently engaged in intestine dissensions. The Acranese formerly composed an independent state, but were conquered by the Aquamboans in 1680, when the greater part of the nation, with their king, emigrated to Little Popo.

On the west of Aquamboe lies the powerful state of Akim, sometimes denominated Akam, Achem, and Accany, which occupies almost all the interior of the Gold Coast, and is supposed by the natives of the coast to extend to Barbary. Akim, or Accany, was formerly a monarchy, but, being involved in domestic factions, its power was diminished, and its government changed to the republican form. It frequently, however, asserts its supremacy over the kingdoms on the coast, and the king of Aquamboe can only avoid subjection by exciting civil dissensions among the Accanese. The Accanese are represented as carrying on an extensive commerce with the interior kingdoms of Africa, particularly Tonouwah, Gago, and *Meczara*, by which Muzzouk, the capital of Fezzan, seems to be intended. They are a bold intrepid nation, much esteemed as well as feared by their neighbours, for their honesty and fair-dealing in commerce. The northern border of Akim extends to Tonouwah, denominated also Inta, Assientè, or Assentai, from its capital city of that name, which stands about eighteen days' journey from the Gold Coast. The inhabitants of this city are reported, by Mr Norris, to have often attempted, without success, to open a communication with the coast through the territories of the Fantees and their confederates.

The different nations of the Gold Coast resemble the negroes of Acra and Aquamboe in their

manners, customs, and religious opinions. They all believe in one supreme God, the creator and preserver of all things. But in order to fix their ideas, they require some definite figure, and generally invest him with the human form, as the most perfect. To believe in a being devoid of form, seems to the negro a belief in nothing, for his only test of the truth of an idea, is the liveliness of his conception. To this supreme being prayers are often offered, when his worshippers turn their faces towards the sun, as the most glorious emblem of his majesty. Loyer gives us a formula of morning prayer used at Issini. "My "God give me this day rice and yams; give me "gold and *aigris*;* give me slaves and riches; "give me health, and grant that I may be active "and swift." The same inaccuracy of thinking, the same vague manner of expression, the same obstinate adherence to propositions, the terms of which are indefinite and obscure, that have occasioned so many incurable religious dissensions among civilized nations, have produced a diversity

* The Aigris is a stone of a greenish blue colour, supposed to be a species of jasper, small perforated pieces of which, valued at their weight in gold, and used for money, like the cowry shells which pass current in the countries along the Niger, from Bambara to Cassina, at ten times their value in Bengal.

of sects among the negroes. The chief of these sectaries are the believers in two principles, the evil and the good, the African and the European; but as the negroes seldom disturb themselves about the inconsistency of their opinions, it is impossible to give a clear statement of their doctrines; for they express their sentiments as they occur, and generally have the seeds of contradiction lurking in their minds. The Africans seem originally to have represented their deity as black like themselves; but they have been informed by Europeans, that this black deity is the devil of the whites, and essentially evil. Where they are contented with the productions of their soil, and their own manner of life, they represent the evil deity as white, the protector of white men, and the cause of all the evils which the white men have brought upon the negroes; and the good deity, the protector of the Africans, as black. But where the negroes are discontented, they represent the black deity as mischievous and cruel, taking pleasure in tormenting them with numerous evils; and the God of the whites as benevolent and kind, bestowing upon them, in abundance, fine clothes, silks, and brandy. Artus told them, that their deity did not neglect them, who furnished them with gold, palm-wine, fruits, cows, goats, fowls, and fish; but he found it impossible to convince them that these were derived from the

Deity. " The earth," said they, " gives us gold ; " the earth yields us maize and rice ; the sea af- " fords us fish, but if we do not labour ourselves, " we may starve, before our God help us. Our " cattle produce young without the assistance of " God ; and for fruits, we are indebted to the Por- " tuguese, who planted the trees ; so that we have " no obligation to our God, as the Europeans to " their benevolent Deity." They admitted, however, that the rain descended from God, to render the earth fruitful, the trees productive, and to wash down gold from the mountains. The latter effect of rain is common in the gold countries. An inland negro being sold to a slave ship, prayed fervently for rain ; and being interrogated the cause, answered, that it might wash down gold to his friends, and enable them to redeem him. This idea of partiality in the Deity, has induced some to believe, that, after death, the virtuous will be transported to the lands of the whites, and be changed into white men. Others, by a fiction more honourable to themselves, suppose, that, in the beginning, God having created black and white men, gave the former their choice of two gifts, gold, and the knowledge of the arts and sciences ; the blacks, having chosen gold, and left learning to the whites, God, offended at their avarice, condemned them to be slaves to the whites for ever. Concerning the creation of man, however, differ-

ent opinions prevail; for, besides those who attribute his creation to the Deity, there are some who believe that he was formed by *Anansie*, an enormous spider, and others who pretend that he emerged from caves and holes in the earth. Their notions fluctuate in the same uncertain manner with respect to a future state, which the majority believe, though some admit their ignorance concerning it. Others suppose, that the deceased are immediately conveyed to a famous river, named *Bosmanque*, in the interior of Africa, where God examines their past lives, and inquires whether they have observed the religious festivals, abstained from forbidden food, and kept their oaths inviolably? If the result of this examination be favourable, they are gently wafted over the river to a land of pure happiness, resembling the Paradise of Mahomet; if unfavourable, the Deity plunges them into the river, where they are drowned, and buried in eternal oblivion. This is obviously an imperfect representation of the Mahometan doctrine. Others believe in the transmigration of souls. The idea of ghosts is extremely common; and, like the vulgar opinion in Britain, the inexpiated crimes of the deceased are supposed to cause their souls to wander after death. Atkins relates, that it is a common saying among the negroes, who are able to speak English, that, "after death, the honest goodee man go to "Godee, livee very well, have a goodee wife, goodee

" victuals, &c.; but if a rogue and cheatee, he must " be tossed here and there, never still." The negroes regard death with the greatest horror: according to Bosman, no person, on pain of death, durst presume to mention death in the presence of the king of Whidah.

The opinions concerning fetiches, termed Obi by the Africans in the West Indies, are extremely obscure; but if we may trust Loyer, who attended particularly to the subject, they are not worshipped as deities, but regarded as charms. The negroes are taught, by tradition, to regard them as the dispensers of good and evil, by means of some occult qualities, which they derive from God, who is the creator of fetiches, which he has sent upon the earth for the good of mankind. The word fetiche, or feitisso, is Portuguese, and signifies a charm; and the supposed power of the fetiche is precisely similar to that occult virtue of charms, lucky and unlucky numbers, and other superstitious ceremonies and observances, which has such general influence on weak and unthinking minds, and to which the greatest unbelievers often attach implicit credit. Gamesters, sailors, and others, who, according to the vulgar opinion, are under the domination of that occult power, termed *chance*, or who are placed in situations in which it is impossible to calculate, or even to conjecture, the future event from the number of circumstances by which

it is influenced, are observed to place the greatest confidence in charms. For the same reasons, the negroes, whose whole life, from the unsettled nature of their governments, and the number of accidents to which they are exposed, resembles a game of hazard, ought to be more superstitious and addicted to charms than other men. This is what really happens; and the negroes not only believe in charms, but days and periods are reckoned lucky and unlucky. They choose their fetiches according to their fancy; one selects the teeth of a dog, tiger, or civet-cat, an egg, or the bone of a bird; while another pitches upon a piece of red or yellow wood, the branch of a thorn, the head of a goat, monkey, or parrot. From the fetiche thus chosen, they expect assistance on all occasions, and vow to perform some kind of worship to it. In honour of it, they deprive themselves of some pleasure, commonly abstaining from some particular kind of meat or drink; so that one man eats no beef, goats' flesh or poultry, and another drinks no palm-wine or brandy. From the opposition of personal interests results the opposition of charms or fetiches; and the virtue of a fetiche is always determined by the success of its possessor. A negro who is unsuccessful, or who suffers any great misfortune, attributes it to the weakness of his fetiche, and has immediately recourse to another, or applies to a *fetissero*, or priest, to procure him one more power-

ful. They believe that the fetiche, by the presiding intelligence that resides in it, sees, speaks, and narrowly inspects all their actions, punishing the vicious, and rewarding the virtuous. For this reason, they cover it carefully, or place it out of view, whenever they perform any improper action. This office of the fetiche is supposed by the negroes of Benin to be performed by the shadow of every man, which they believe to be a real being, that in another world shall give a true account of all his actions. These fetiches, when remarkably successful, become the tutelary guardians of families, and are transmitted to the descendants of their original possessors, like the Lares and Penates of the Romans, and the Teraphim or household gods of the Aramœans, which they frequently resemble in form. At Elmina and Acra, they often consist of a piece of wood, on which is carved a human head, without body, arms, or limbs. Besides private fetiches appropriate to individuals, there are others of a more public nature, whose influence extends to particular cantons or districts. These are frequently remarkable mountains, rocks, trees, lakes, and rivers. The Acranese attributed the conquest of their country by the Aquambrans, to the conversion of one of these sacred lakes into a salt-pit, by the Portuguese. Of this species seems to have been the Snake worship of the Whidanese, who believed in one supreme God, though they worship-

ped one species of serpent, as the most powerful fetiches, especially one of immense size, which they termed the Grandfather of the snakes. With the discovery of this snake, at some fortunate period, the snake-worship probably originated; for the ancient Whidanese related, that they found him when he deserted another country on account of its wickedness. This snake-worship, therefore, presents no inexplicable phenomenon in the history of the human mind, for it resolves into the more general doctrine of fetiches, which is only a species of the common belief in the virtue of charms.

Dahomy is a fertile and cultivated country; the soil is a deep, rich, reddish clay, intermixed with sand, scarcely containing a stone of the size of an egg in the whole country. It is extremely productive of maize, millet, beans, yams, potatoes, cassada, plantain, and the banana; indigo, cotton, tobacco, palm-oil, and sugar are raised, as well as a species of black pepper. Bread, and a species of liquor, or rather diluted gruel, are formed of the lotus berry. Animals, both wild and tame, are numerous, and the lakes abound in fish. The maritime districts of Whidah and Ardra, before they were ruined by the Dahomans, were highly cultivated and beautiful. "The vast number and variety of tall and "spreading trees," says Smith, "seeming as if "they had been planted for decoration, fields of "the most lively verdure, almost wholly devoted

"to culture; plains embellished with a multitude "of towns and villages, placed in full view of the "surrounding district; a gradual and almost im- "perceptible ascent to the distance of forty or "fifty miles from the sea, which terminates the "prospect;—formed the most picturesque scene "imaginable, unobstructed by hill or mountain." The Ardranese had attained such a degree of civilization, that they were able to correspond with each other by a species of *quippos*, similar to the Peruvian, and formed by the combination of knots upon a cord, to which particular significations were attached.

The character of the Daumanese, or Dahomans, is original and strongly marked; they have retained peculiar manners, and have had little intercourse with either Europeans or Moors. They exhibit the germ of peculiar institutions and modifications of manners, that have appeared incredible to modern nations, when they perused the ancient records of the Egyptians, Hindùs, and Lacedemonians. Like the Lacedemonians, they display a singular mixture of ferocity and politeness, of generosity and cruelty. Their conduct towards strangers is hospitable, without any mixture of rudeness or insult. Their appearance is manly, and their persons strong and active; and though they are less addicted to the practice of tattowing than their neighbours, their countenance rather displays

ferocity than courage. Their government is the purest despotism; every subject is a slave; and every slave implicitly admits the right of the sovereign to dispose of his property and of his person. "I think of my king," said a Dahoman to Mr Norris, "and then I dare engage five of the enemy myself. My head belongs to the king, not to myself: if he please to send for it, I am ready to resign it; or if it be shot through in battle, I am satisfied—if it be in his service." This attachment continues unshaken, even when their nearest relations become the victims of the avarice or caprice of the king, and his enormities are always attributed to their own indiscretions. With this devoted spirit, the Dahoman rushes fearless into battle, and fights as long as he can wield his sabre. In 1775, when the viceroy of Whidah was disgraced, one of the military officers declared, "that it was his duty to accompany the general to the field; and if ever he betrayed the least symptom of cowardice, or shewed the soles of his feet to the enemy, he hoped the king would have his cutlass ready to behead him, at the moment of his return. But this," said he, "will never happen; for, should I ever suspect that I am accused of treachery, of turning my back on the foe, or giving cause of complaint, I shall never afford the prime minister an opportunity of asking impertinent questions, or of interfering between me and my so-

" vereign : I prefer death at any time." Soon afterwards, this officer found himself left almost alone in his post, after detaching the flower of his troops to the assistance of his companions. Perceiving that it was impossible to retrieve affairs, at the approach of the enemy, he called for his *large stool*, or chair, dismissed his attendants, sat down, and singly awaited the attack. When the enemy advanced, he stood up and fired his musket till he was surrounded, when he drew his sabre, and rushed into the thickest ranks, where, after killing numbers, he was overpowered and taken prisoner. The king of Dahomy, who highly approved of his conduct, paid his ransom, but he refused to return, and observing to the messenger, that, " though he " might perhaps be the most ugly of his majesty's " subjects, yet there were none more loyal,"— stabbed himself with his sword. Another Dahoman general, being about to engage the Popoes, with a very inferior force, drank success to the arms of his king, and, dashing the glass to pieces, wished, " that if he was unsuccessful, he might " not survive the disgrace, but perish like the glass " which he broke." The metaphors and idiomatical expressions of this nation have generally a reference to their *bodily strength* and the *sharpness* of their swords. The significant titles which the king assumes, are termed his *strong* names. When the king prohibits the minstrels from entering up-

on a disagreeable subject, he announces that the topic is too *strong* for him. The modern history of the Dahomans realizes all that history has recorded of ancient Lacedemon, and of those Lacedemonians of the north, the inhabitants of Jomsburgh, who were forbidden to mention the name of *Fear*, even in the most imminent dangers, and who proudly declared that they would fight their enemies, though they were stronger than the Gods. Saxo relates, that when Frotho, king of Denmark, was taken prisoner in battle, he obstinately refused to accept of life, declaring, that the restoration of his kingdom and treasures could never restore his honour, but that future ages would always say, *Frotho has been taken by his enemy*. The palace of the king of Dahomy is an extensive building of bamboo and mud-walled huts, surrounded by a mud-wall about twenty feet high, inclosing a quadrangular space of about a mile square. The entrance to the king's apartment is paved with human skulls, the lateral walls adorned with human jaw-bones, with a few bloody heads intermixed at intervals. The whole building resembles a number of farm-yards, with long thatched barns and sheds for cattle, intersected with low mud-walls. On the thatched roofs, numerous human skulls are ranged at intervals, on small wooden stakes. In allusion to these, when the king issues orders for war, he only announces to his general, *that his*

house wants thatch. In this palace, or *large house,* as it is termed by the Dahomans, above 3000 females are commonly immured, and about 500 are appropriated by each of the principal officers. From this injurious and detestable practice, originates many flagrant abuses; the population is diminished, the sources of private happiness destroyed, and the best feelings of human nature being outraged, the energies of passion are converted into bitterness and ferocity. The first of these evils is the establishment of a legal system of prostitution, as a considerable proportion of the inferior classes are unable to procure wives. As children, whether male or female, are considered the exclusive property of the king, they are separated from their parents at an early period, and receive a species of public education, by which means family connections are annihilated, and the insulated individual becomes a passive instrument of tyrannical power. When an individual is able to procure 20,000 cowries, he prostrates himself at the gate of the king, or his vicegerent, presents the money, and begs to be favoured with a wife, when, instead of having the opportunity of selecting a natural friend, suited to his taste, and adapted to gratify the affections of his heart, he must take the female assigned him, whether she be old or young, handsome or deformed. Sometimes, out of malicious sport, a man's own mother is handed out

to him, so that he both misses a wife and loses his money. In 1775, the viceroy of Whidah was disgraced and punished with death, for the following speech, extorted by indignation at a procession of the king's women. "Ah! see "what a number of charming women are devot- "ed to the embraces of one man! while we who "bore the dangers of the siege of Whidah, and "defeated Abavou and his army, have been pre- "sented with such as are hardly good enough for "house-sweepers. It is ungenerous, but we are "Dahoman-men, and must submit." The king's female guard seems in some measure to explain the origin of the ancient opinion concerning the Amazons. Some hundreds of the king's women are regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general, and subordinate officers appointed by his majesty. They are regularly exercised, perform their military evolutions, with as great dexterity as any of the Dahoman troops, and parade in public with their standards, drums, trumpets, flutes, and martial music. It is criminal for any Dahoman to assert, that the king is so similar to other mortals, as either to eat or sleep. At his accession, he proclaims that he knows nobody, and is not inclined to make any new acquaintance; that he will administer justice with a rigorous and impartial hand, but will listen to no representations, nor receive any presents, except from his officers, who approach

him grovelling in the dust. The Dahomans maintain the true doctrine of passive obedience, and the divine right of kings, in the utmost purity, and their history exhibits no example of a deposition. At his accession, the king *walks in blood* from the palace to the grave of his predecessor, and annually *waters the graves of his ancestors with the blood of human victims.* The death of the king is only announced by fearful shrieks, which spread like lightning from the palace to the extremities of Dahomy, and become the signal for anarchy, rapine, and murder, which continue till the new king ascends the throne. The religion of Dahomy is vague and uncertain in its principles, and rather consists in the performance of some traditionary ceremonies, than in any fixed system of belief, or of moral conduct. They believe more firmly in their amulets and fetiches, than in the Deity; their national fetiche is *the Tiger;* and their habitations are decorated with ugly images, tinged with blood, stuck with feathers, besmeared with palm-oil, and bedaubed with eggs. As their ideas of Deity do not coincide with those of Europeans, they imagine that their tutelary gods are different. "Perhaps," said a Dahoman chief to Snelgrave, "that God may be yours, who has "communicated so many extraordinary things to "white men; but as that God has not been pleased to make himself known to us, we must be

"satisfied with this we worship." The Dahomans manufacture and dye cotton cloth, and form a species of cloth of palm-leaves. They are tolerably skilful in working in metals. The bards, who celebrate the exploits of the king and his generals, are likewise the historians of the country. Their historical poems, which are rehearsed on solemn occasions, occupy several days in the recital. These may probably compare with the legends of Ossian, and of the Irish, Gaelic, and Welsh bards. It is probable that the legends of Dahomy are equally authentic with these; for, in every rude age, it is the interest of the bards not to touch upon subjects *too strong* for their respective chiefs. The Persian Hafez would have been put to death by Tamerlane, merely for preferring, like a true inamorato, the charms of his mistress to the gold of Bokhara, and the gems of Samarcand, had he not saved himself by an ingenious quibble, to prove a various reading. How much authentic history may we then derive from oral and poetical legends!! The Dahomans, though they do not use human flesh as an article of food, yet devour the flesh of human victims as a religious ceremony, at their solemn feasts; and their ancient practice seems to be marked by their ordinary phrase of *eating their enemies*, by which they denote *taking them alive*. Though the martial genius of the Dahomans remains unaltered, their military exploits have not

been remarkable since the reign of Guadja Trudo, the conqueror of Whida Ardra, Torree, Didouma, Ajirah, and Jacquin, who died in 1731. Guadja Trudo was almost as good a conqueror as any Barbarian that was ever dignified with that appellation. He waded to glory through seas of blood, I am not sure if we may call it innocent; if he did not exhibit true magnanimity, he always displayed what is equally good for a conqueror, a true belligerent insensibility to the miseries of his own, and of every other nation; and, when he could not lead the Dahomans, he drove them to victory. His policy was that of an ambitious savage, who sought to retain the territory he had conquered, by burning the towns, and massacring the inhabitants; but his views were more extensive than those of his countrymen, and the character given of him by Snelgrave appears to be just; who declares, that he found him the most extraordinary man of his colour with whom he had ever conversed. His fame still remains in Dahomy, where his memory is revered, and where, in the most solemn oaths, they swear by his name. Bossa Ahadee, and Adahoonzou, the son and grandson of Trudo, possessed the same restless ambitious spirit, without his martial talents.

The above summary of information relative to the western coast of Africa was drawn up by Dr

Leyden, upon the materials then in possession of the public. Since that time have appeared the Reports of the African Institution; of the Select Committee on the African forts; and Mr Meredith's interesting "Account of the Gold Coast of "Africa." From these sources a considerable amount of new information has been obtained.

The affairs of the Sierra Leone Company, according to the usual fate of such establishments, having gone into disorder, and the profits being inadequate to cover the expences, an arrangement was made, by which their property was transferred to the hands of Government, and Sierra Leone was placed on the same footing as other colonies. At the same time, a society, under the title of the African Institution, was formed by a large body of the most virtuous and respectable individuals in this country, with a general view to the improvement and civilization of the African continent. Sierra Leone, which appeared the best centre whence such efforts could issue, was placed under their management and direction. There can be no doubt, notwithstanding the charges brought by a person who held for some time an office in the colony, of the zeal with which the Institution have pursued every object tending to the improvement of this colony, as well as the general benefit of Africa. Of this, the character of its members would be a sufficient pledge; but it is farther rendered evi-

dent by the statements which they have chosen to submit to the public. They very candidly, however, admit the circumstances which have obstructed the accomplishment, to the full extent, of the objects for which it was founded. It has been found impossible to preserve a uniform good understanding with the native powers, whose volatile and turbulent habits render them always prompt to embark in hostilities. The abolition of the slave-trade also has caused the colony to be viewed by no means with a favourable eye by the native chiefs. The wars in which it was repeatedly involved with them, gave a very serious check to its improvement. The management also of the negroes captured on their route to the West Indies, is also attended with considerable difficulty. The plan of making them purchase their liberty by a temporary bondage, under the name of indenture, though it cannot deserve the epithets which have been applied to it, seems yet to have been very properly discontinued. The motley and equivocal character, however, which necessarily attaches to a great part of the population, renders it very difficult to preserve the degree of order and propriety necessary to render it useful in itself, and creditable in the eye of the Africans. The introduction of the English forms of law has produced a most violent spirit of litigation. The suits for petty assaults and defamation are almost innumerable, and

the plaintiffs are usually in the proportion of four women to one man. The distance from Britain, besides the unhealthy nature of the settlement, and the very moderate amount of the salaries, make it scarcely possible to procure respectable and duly qualified persons to fill the different official situations.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles, a sensible improvement has taken place, and more may be expected, as experience shews the best modes of conducting such a colony.

According to a survey in April 1811, Sierra Leone contained three hundred and seventy-one houses, chiefly of wood, some wattled, and only three of stone. The population was one thousand nine hundred and seventeen; of which number, twenty-eight were Europeans, nine hundred and seventy-two Nova Scotians, eight hundred and seven Maroons, and one hundred Africans. *

The political state of the Gold Coast has been chiefly marked by the decline of the power of Aquamboe, which, instead of ruling over all the neighbouring states, now scarcely maintains its own independence. The predominance is at present indisputably possessed by Ashantee, a power which was barely heard of by the early travellers under

* Report of Select Committee on the African forts, (29th June 1816,) p. 133.

the name of Asiente. It appears to be situated two or three hundred miles in the interior from the sea coast; the capital is reported by Governor Dawson* to be four hundred miles from Accra. Every account represents the country to be fertile, extensive, and populous. The number of people is clearly attested by the large armies which the king brings into the field. Mr Dawson conceived that, in case of emergency, he could assemble 150,000 men. Most of the commodities, gold, ivory, palm oil, &c. which form the objects of trade upon the Gold Coast, are brought down from the Ashantee territory. Zey Coomah, the king, has been seized with an ardent desire to open a communication with the sea, and with the British; but his subjects are liable to be obstructed and maltreated, by the turbulent tribe of Fantees who occupy the intermediate space. This has necessarily given rise to quarrels, which have terminated in war. The king of Ashantee has within the last few years made three several inroads to the coast, in which, by the superior numbers and bravery of his troops, he carried all before him. The first was in 1808, when he destroyed the fort of Anamaboe; the second in 1811; and the third in 1816. On these occasions our countrymen had an opportunity of

* Report of Select Committee on the African forts, (29th June 1816,) p. 192.

communicating with the Ashantees, and found them to be much more courteous and civilized, every way superior in intelligence and moral feeling, to the natives upon the coast. The Ashantees, in their turn, shewed the most amicable disposition towards the British; and the king even requested, that a resident of that nation might be sent to his court.

The British have forts on this coast at Apollonia, Dixcove, Succondee, Commenda, Cape Coast, (the principal one,) Anamaboe, Tantumquery, and Accra. Those at Winnebah and Whidah, the latter of which places is still in the power of the king of Dahomy, have been given up.

CHAPTER V.

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

The Cape of Good Hope.—Kolben.—Sparmann.—Vaillant.—Barrow.—Trutter and Sommerville.—Cowan.—Lichtenstein.—Campbell.—Burchell.

The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, by Bartholemew Diaz, and its subsequent passage by Vasco de Gama in 1498, formed one of the grand eras in modern navigation. Although, however, the Portuguese touched on this coast for provisions and water, they do not appear to have ever formed any permanent settlement. But the Dutch, a prudent and considerate people, soon discovered the advantages which might be derived from the possession of this half-way house to India. Early in the 17th century, they formed a settlement there, which being gradually strengthened and extended, ranked at length with the most important of their colonial establishments. Some accounts of it were published in 1681 and 1686, by Dutch writers of the names of Breyer and Fen Rynne. The first detailed narrative, however, was given in 1718, by

Peter Kolben; which, after being for nearly half a century received as perfectly authentic, has for some time past fallen into total discredit. This last judgment is perhaps somewhat too severe. It will not, perhaps, on examination, appear to exhibit much more than those exaggerations and mistakes, to which a traveller is always liable at the first view of an unknown country. He saw the colony, besides, in a very different state from that in which it has been viewed by recent travellers. Its limits were then comparatively narrow; and the tribes, who have since been either extirpated or reduced to slavery, were then unbroken and independent. This may have produced a discrepancy between his reports and theirs; and it gives a considerable value to his narrative, as painting the manners of savage communities, which are no longer in existence.

The colony, it appears, did not, at this time, extend beyond the narrow plain, included between the sea and the two mountain chains of the Zwarteberg and the Bokkeveld; nor was there an accurate knowledge of any thing farther. On the north, the boundary appears to have been formed by the Berg, or Mountain River, which falls into the Bay of St Helena. Pretty accurate notices, however, had been obtained of the Namaquas, and even of the deserts of sand which lie beyond them. On the east, the limit appears to have been Mossel

Bay. Kolben's map presents here a remarkable feature, called Endless River. It is represented as rising near the Bay of St Sebastian, and directing its course south-east, without any known termination. It is somewhat difficult to say, what river it is, of which the course has been so egregiously mistaken. The Great Karroo, and, much more, the regions of Sneuwberg and Cafferland, appear to have been entirely unknown.

The Hottentots are described by Kolben as living in *kraals*, which seldom contained less than twenty huts and a hundred inhabitants. In general, they contained from three to four hundred inhabitants, and sometimes five hundred. The huts are ranged in a circle, in a commodious situation, generally along the bank of a river. Their form is oval, the largest diameter being generally fourteen feet, and the smallest ten; and they are too low to render it possible to stand upright in them. The walls are formed of twigs, and the roof of mats, woven from oziers and junk so close, that neither rain nor wind can penetrate. The whole wealth of the Hottentot consists in his cattle, and to defend these against wild beasts, is the continual object of his care. With this view, the young animals are enclosed at night within the circle of the huts, the older ones being tied to the outside, while the lambs are lodged in a large house or shed. During the day, three or four of

the kraal guard them in turn. The pasture ground is entirely common, and after having exhausted one spot, the kraal removes to another. They possess considerable ingenuity in several trades. The smiths are particularly skilful, and are able to fuse and fashion iron in all shapes required, without any other instrument besides stones. They also know how to tan, dress, and even sew the skins. In sewing, they use as needles the small bones of birds, and the nerves attached to the back bones of animals for threads. Mats, strings for their bows and musical instruments, and some articles of pottery, are also manufactured with considerable skill.

It has been reported, that the Hottentots exhibited no vestige of religion; but Kolben asserts that they believe in a God. They say "that he "is an excellent man, who does no ill to any one, "and lives far beyond the moon;" but they consider him as placed out of the reach of any worship which they could pay to him. When the moon is at the full, they make sacrifices to her, accompanied with prayers for good weather, with dancing, leaping, and violent contortions. They have also a malignant divinity, little, crooked, and ill-natured, whom they endeavour to soften by offerings. They shew no direct signs of any belief in the immortality of the soul; yet the honours which they ren-

der to the dead, and the dread of ghosts, shew some secret belief of it.

The Hottentots, in Kolben's time, were not entirely without government. A hereditary chief, called Konquer, commanded in war, negotiated peace, and presided at the public assemblies. A second officer, also hereditary, called Captain, judged the people in peace, and, in war, commanded under the Konquer. Both these functionaries, at their accession, came under an oath to attempt nothing against the rights of each other, or of the people. The Hottentots were then a warlike race. On the slightest injury, they flew to arms. Their wars, like those of all savages, were short, tumultuary, and irregular. They formed alliances with each other, and seemed even to study a sort of balance of power. The Dutch were frequently called in by the weaker party; an occurrence which they always succeeded in turning to their own advantage.

Kolben gives many particulars of the natural history of the Cape, though they cannot now be considered as of much value. He notices the species of sheep with tails of extraordinary magnitude, composed entirely of fat, and weighing often fifteen or twenty pounds. He describes particularly the elephant, the rhinoceros, the leopard, and the buffalo. But the most beautiful animal he saw was the zebra, which he knows under no other name

than the wild ass, though he joins with Ludolf in lamenting, that so elegant a species should not be honoured with a name more worthy of his appearance.

About 1760, the Abbé Lacaille, an eminent French astronomer, and member of the French Academy of Sciences, made a journey to the Cape, with the view of making some important observations. To these his attention was chiefly confined; but he wrote also a short journal, containing some curious remarks. He criticises very severely some of the statements of Kolben, who, he asserts, never travelled beyond the colony, nor even visited the remoter parts of it.

In 1772-6, Dr Andrew Sparmann of Stockholm made a variety of excursions in the vicinity of the Cape. His observations are chiefly confined to the natural history; in which view they are valuable, though not easily admitting of abridgment, and we can only select a few of the most remarkable features.

The lion appears less ferocious here than in Asia. It here seldom attacks any of the stronger animals, unless when provoked, or severely pressed by hunger. It displays then astonishing strength, and has been seen to leap a hedge holding an ox in its mouth. Dr Sparmann agrees with the other

reports, in noticing that it makes only one great spring, and if that fails, follows up the attack no farther. There are, properly, no tigers in this part of Africa, but only panthers and leopards. Elephants are hunted by the Hottentots in the same manner as in Asia, by digging pits. The colonists, however, employ always fire-arms against this animal as well as the rhinoceros. The *gnu*, which appears to hold a middle place between the horse and the gazelle, was first noticed by Dr Sparmann. The same may be said of that beautiful antelope called the spring-bok. Of hippopotami he could only kill one, too young to afford a full idea of the species. He gives a very full description of the termites, which appear to be as numerous here as they are over the western coast.

The agreeable species of Cape wine, called Constantia, Dr Sparmann states to be the produce of two farms only; and it appeared to him, that no cause, except some peculiarity of the soil, could be assigned for its superior excellence. The annual produce of these farms is sixty liggars of red, and ninety of white wine; each liggar containing six hundred French pints. If the smallness of this quantity appears surprising to the reader, he may consider, that much of what is sold as Constantia, has nothing in common with that celebrated wine except the name.

During the years 1772-5, *Thunberg*, who afterwards visited Japan, resided at the Cape of Good Hope, and made several excursions to different parts of the colony. In 1777-8, also, Mr *Paterson* accompanied Captain Gordon in an expedition, in the course of which he penetrated to the Sneuwberg, or Snowy Mountains, and into the country of the Bosjesmans. The narratives of both these travellers, as well as that of Sparmann, contain many interesting particulars; but as they went over the very same ground which was afterwards traversed by Mr Barrow, whose report is generally allowed to be the most valuable and authentic yet published, it appears more eligible to make it known to our readers through his medium, than to incur a series of repetitions by minutely following those who preceded him in the same tract.

Between the years 1780 and 1785, Mr Vaillant performed his well-known travels. Few writers have so well succeeded in making their narrative lively and entertaining, in which respect it is little inferior to the most interesting works of fiction. These, indeed, it has been strongly suspected to resemble in other respects. The French, however, maintain that the imagination of Vaillant has operated, not in materially altering the truth of facts, but merely throwing over them a colouring and embellishment which may amuse and flatter the

fancy of his readers. This "*petite foiblesse*," as M. de la Richarderie calls it, cannot, it is said, affect the general value and authenticity of his narrative. In consequence, however, of the "little "weakness" now alluded to, M. Vaillant's account of this country cannot be compared, in point of authenticity, to that of Mr Barrow; and, as the charm of his style could not be preserved in a short analysis, there seems no room for departing, in his case, from the plan which we have proposed to follow in that of his predecessors.

It is certain that Vaillant made important additions to African ornithology. He brought home also to Paris the skin of the Giraffe, or Camelopardalis, a rare species, which, till then, had scarcely come under modern observation. He seems to have first ascertained, that what has been called the apron of the Hottentot females, is merely the prolongation of a particular membrane, which he supposes to be artificially produced; but Mr Barrow seems to have ascertained it to be a natural excrescence.

In 1797, the territory belonging to the colony, as far as the Orange river, was traversed by Mr Barrow. Few gentlemen have possessed, in so eminent a degree, all the most important requisites of a traveller. The care and accuracy with which his observations are made; his attention to study

man in his political and social capacities; and, at the same time, his intimate acquaintance with the different kingdoms of nature, enable him to exhibit a complete view of all the relations under which any region can be considered. He was assisted by all the means of information which government could supply; so that, with regard to the tract over which he travelled, his information may be considered as superseding all prior narratives, and forming the basis of those which are to succeed.

Mr Barrow begins by giving a view of the extent of the colony, as fixed by official survey in the course of the journey which he narrates. The greatest length, from Cape Point to Caffreland, is 580 miles; its smallest length, from the river Koussie to Zuureberg, is 520. The greatest breadth, from the river Koussie to Cape Point, is 315 miles; its least breadth, from the Nieuweldt mountains to Plettenberg bay, is 160. These measurements give a medium length of 550 miles, and a medium breadth of 233. This immense tract is occupied, exclusive of Cape Town, by not more than 15,000 white inhabitants, so that each individual may be considered the proprietor of $8\frac{1}{2}$ square miles of ground. A very great portion of this space, however, seems doomed by nature to perpetual sterility. It is traversed by chains of vast mountains, rising one behind another; and, except one, which runs northward along the Atlantic ocean, extend-

ing all in the direction of east to west. The intermediate plains are in a great measure covered with a hard impenetrable clay, sprinkled over with crystallized sand, and condemned to perpetual drought.

The first great chain runs parallel to the coast from east to west, and encloses, between it and the sea, a belt of land, varying from 20 to 60 miles in breadth. This district is fertile, well wooded and watered, and enjoying a more mild and equal temperature than the rest of the colony. Behind this chain rises, at some distance, the Zwarte Berg, or Black Mountain, considerably loftier and more rugged. The belt enclosed between these two is partly fertile, but interspersed with extensive tracts of arid clay land called Karroo. A third chain of mountains is called the Nieuweldts Gebirgte, and is greatly elevated above the Zwarte Berg. Between these two chains is situated the Great Karroo, an immense tract of parched desert, nearly 300 miles in length and 80 in breadth, which forms the third step or terrace of Southern Africa.

Cape Town, the capital, and the only place in the colony to which the name of a town can be applied, consists of about eleven hundred houses, regularly built in straight lines, and intersecting each other at right angles. Between the town and the Table mountain are situated a number of neat country houses, with gardens and plantations. Most

of the European and tropical fruits are cultivated with success, and the market is tolerably supplied with vegetables. The chief want is timber, either for building or firing. Most families are compelled to keep a slave for the sole purpose of climbing the neighbouring mountains in search of faggots. To purchase these in sufficient quantity to maintain a fire in the kitchen alone, costs forty or fifty pounds a-year. The botanical productions of the Cape district surpass, perhaps, in variety and beauty, those of any other part of the world. In the bulbous rooted plants, particularly, it is quite unrivalled.

The Dutch inhabitants of the Cape display the phlegm and apathy of their countrymen in Europe, without their persevering industry. They devolve all labour upon the slaves, and spend their time in eating to excess of high seasoned dishes, drinking raw ardent spirits, and smoking tobacco. As they carefully avoid every species of bodily exertion, their health inevitably suffers, and few exceed the age of sixty. The ladies do not share this phlegmatic character; they are pretty, lively, and good-humoured, easy in their manners, and fond of social intercourse. They are allowed an unusual degree of freedom, which they seldom abuse.

The Table mountain, which overhangs the Cape, affords a specimen of the general mountain structure of this part of Africa. The basis, and the

plain on which the town is built, consists of a bed of blue schistus, above which lies a body of strong iron clay. Embedded in the clay are immense blocks of granite, and above both, a horizontal bed of sandstone; then a mass, a thousand feet deep, of whitish grey quartz; and sandstone above all. No marine remains are to be found in the sides of this mountain.

The mode in which journeys are performed in Southern Africa is by hiring large waggons, drawn by a team, which consists of ten or twelve oxen. These travel from five to fifteen hours a day, generally at the rate of three miles in the hour. After passing the Table mountain, they came to the isthmus, which consists of a sandy flat, not more than twenty or thirty feet above the level of the sea. Here, along the eastern coast, are found numerous shells, several hundred feet higher, and accumulated chiefly in the caves of the mountains. Mr. Barrow is of opinion, that they have been conveyed thither by the myriads of sea fowl that frequent the [illegible] shores. The travellers next entered into an extensive valley, bordered by detached mountains, called the Tigerberg, Paarlberg, Simonsberg, and by a very lofty range, which shuts in its eastern extremity. The most copious and most profitable produce is wine. An acre of ground will yield five pipes of one hundred and fifty-four gallons each, which will sell from L. 10 to L. 30

a pipe. The grapes raised at the Cape are equal to those of any other country; the inferior quality of the wine, therefore, can only be imputed to the imperfect fermentation, and to the practice of pulling the grapes before they are ripe. The brandy also, being distilled with too much rapidity, imbibes a strong empyreumatic taste.

The Dutch peasant shews here more than the usual apathy which characterizes his nation. He has no idea of what an English farmer calls comfort. His apartments are almost destitute of furniture; the windows are without glass; the floors are dirty, and swarm with insects. Even wine, milk, vegetables, and roots, though easily procured, are despised by him; his sole enjoyment is in the pipe, which never quits his mouth, unless to take his glass of brandy, or to eat his meals, served up three times a day, and consisting of mutton swimming in fat. The mistress of the family, in like manner, remains a fixture in front of the table, on which stands her coffee-pot constantly boiling. She and her daughters continue seated the whole day with their hands folded in the most listless apathy. They have no meetings for diversion, fairs, balls, or musical parties. The history of one day forms that of their whole lives. That such-a-one is going to town, to church, or to be married, or that the Bosjesmans have stolen some cattle, form the only incidents by which life is diversified. Though

each occupies a farm several miles square, at the rate of a farthing an acre, no two neighbours can agree about the limits of their respective possessions. This dissension is much promoted by the system of measuring the fields, according to the length of time spent in walking across them. There is indeed an officer, whose express function it is to pace the territory; but it is often alleged, that the extent of his strides is modified by his good or evil inclination to the tenant of the ground. Reading and writing are very imperfectly taught; even those who employ a schoolmaster, cannot carry the division of labour so far as to allot that for his sole function; he must make himself serviceable in other capacities. Our traveller saw one, who was driving a plough, which a Hottentot was guiding. Hospitality, however, is a virtue which *they eminently possess.* With the exception of *his next neighbour, with* whom he is probably at *variance, no farmer* ever passes the house of another. He enters without ceremony, salutes the family, and seats himself, as if the house were his own.

The party now entered the Karroo, or great desert, through which they travelled eastward for nine days without meeting a human habitation. They only met a grazier from the Sneuwberg, driving a large herd of sheep and cattle for the Cape market. The sour and acrid plants on which these

cattle are obliged to feed in their passage through this desert, appears to Mr Barrow the chief cause of the bad quality of animal food at the Cape. Their course lay between the two great ranges of the Zwarte Berg, and Niewweldt, both of which were then covered with snow. The latter, so far as could be judged, appeared not less than ten thousand feet in height. On the Sion river, they found, in an opening of the Zwarte Berg, a farm-house, with a few habitations, which formed a species of oasis. Here having stopped to refresh themselves, they again launched into the desert, and, in seven days more, arrived at the village of Graaf Reynet, which borders immediately on Caffreland.

Graaf Reynet is 500 miles from the Cape. It is an assemblage of mud huts, and exhibits an appearance more miserable than the poorest village in England. The walls and floors are in a great measure undermined by the termites. There is a jail, but so little tenable, that an English deserter being confined in it, went out the first night through the thatch. Although the country is fertile, the indolence of the inhabitants is such, that the most common necessaries can scarcely be procured. There is neither milk, butter, nor cheese; neither butcher, chandler, grocer, nor baker. The whole district, with the neighbouring one of Bruntjeshoogte, breathed then nothing but war against the Caffres. This last people seemed, indeed, to

have passed their limits; but the real motive, it was supposed, of this eager desire to repel the encroachment, was the hope of plundering a portion of the herds belonging to them. Accordingly, all the hostile preparations were ordered to be discontinued, and the party determined to proceed into the Caffre country, to accommodate matters, if possible, in an amicable manner.

Before proceeding on this embassy, they made a short excursion to Zwartkops, or Algoa Bay. The most remarkable object on their route was a salt lake, the largest in Southern Africa, where such lakes are very common, and are called salt-pans. The water was salt as brine, and the bottom covered with a sheet of that mineral resembling ice in appearance, and hard as rock. The dry winds produce a fine powdery salt, like flakes of snow, which is much valued. Lions are very numerous. Mr Barrow controverts strongly the common idea of the courage and heroism of this boasted lord of the forests. He describes him as cowardly and treacherous, never attacking unless in ambuscade. Zwartkops Bay affords good anchorage, but no shelter. Fish, particularly black whales, are very abundant. The country is fertile, and contains fine forests; but the want of a market renders the farmers miserably poor.

On returning to Graaf Reynet, Mr Barrow had an opportunity of observing the small remnant of

the native Hottentots. Twenty years ago, their *kraals* were said to have been numerous; now they were nearly all either extinct or reduced to slavery. Only one of their old captains, called Haasbeck, survived. As slaves, they are treated with extreme cruelty. Whipping, with heavy leather thongs, forms the lightest part of their punishment. Firing small shot into their legs is not unfrequently practised; and instant death is sometimes the consequence of the master's brutality. The lashes are inflicted, not by number, but by time; they are continued till the master has smoked a certain number of pipes. This "flogging by pipes" has been so much approved of, as to be introduced into several others of the Dutch settlements.

The Hottentot is described by Mr Barrow as mild, quiet, timid, perfectly harmless, honest, and faithful. He is also kind and affectionate, and ready to share his last morsel with his companions. Indolence is his disease, which nothing but the most extreme terror can overcome. The calls of hunger are insufficient; which is the more remarkable, as they are the greatest gluttons on the face of the earth. Ten of them ate a middling sized ox in three days. "The word with them "is to eat and sleep." The grease, which forms a thick black coating over their skins, however little ornamental, is conceived to be a salutary pre-

caution against the influence of the sun's rays in so parched a climate. In the females, the exchange of dried skins for beads, metal buttons, and other such ornaments, is considered as by no means a prudent alteration. The Hottentots, of both sexes, when young, are by no means deficient in personal appearance; but as they grow old, the two sexes, females especially, lose their shape, and become immoderately fat. The number of Hottentots in the district of Graaf Reynet is estimated at 10,000.

The mission now set out for Caffreland. A party of armed colonists offered to accompany them, solely, it was suspected, with a view to amusement, and secretly perhaps to plunder; but the party courageously resolved to trust to the good character of the Caffres, and shew no symptoms of fear. They soon arrived at a party of about three hundred. The men appeared the finest figures they had ever seen, tall, robust, and muscular, with a firm carriage and an open manly countenance. The women were of low stature, strong limbed, and by no means handsome; but their extreme gaiety and good humour, without any mixture of immodesty, prepossessed our travellers much in their favour. The habitations were merely twigs bent into the form of a parabola, covered with grass and branches of trees, and were evidently built only for temporary use. The mission having com-

plained of the inroads made into the colony, the chiefs stated, that these were prompted solely by the example set first, and on a greater scale, by the colonists. This, it seems, was an undeniable fact, so that the British could only stipulate for the good conduct of their subjects in future, provided the Caffres observed a similar procedure. Nothing, however, could be concluded without the king Geika, with whom these chiefs happened to be somewhat at variance. To Geika, accordingly, the mission set out, and arrived in a few days. They found him absent at a neighbouring village, on an alarm, that the wolves were threatening his cattle; but he soon appeared, riding on an ox at full gallop. He shewed pleasure at seeing them, and proceeded without ceremony to business, causing them to sit in a circle for the convenience of conversation. He observed that no encroachments had been committed by any of his immediate subjects, but by those of chiefs who owned indeed his supremacy, but had given him much cause of complaint. He readily agreed to all the conditions proposed, which, besides the maintenance of peace between the districts, included the affording relief to such vessels as should be shipwrecked on their coasts. In fact, it appeared, that, on such occasions, the shipwrecked mariners had been treated in the very best manner in every respect, except that, metal buttons being an irresistible tempta-

tion, those ornaments had been severed from their coats.

The Caffres are entirely black, but bear no trace of the negro features. In the form of their skull and face they differ little from the most perfect Europeans. Mr Barrow saw few traces of agricultural industry. This was explained by the king to arise from the constant state of warfare in which the nation had for some years been engaged. Pasturage, however, is their chief and favourite occupation. The game being now nearly exhausted, there is no longer room for hunting, which otherwise might often be preferred. Their cattle are under the most perfect command; a slight whistle, differently modified, causes a large herd either to go out to graze, or to come to be milked. They subsist chiefly on the milk; it is only on great occasions of festival that a cow is killed. It is remarkable, however, although they live on a coast swarming with fish, that they make no use of that food, and do not possess a boat or canoe of any description. They are ingenious in several arts. Though they cannot smelt iron, yet, with one stone serving for a hammer, and the other for an anvil, they fashion it into almost any required shape. They prepare calf skins also very skilfully for dress, their bodkin being of polished iron, and their thread the muscular fibres of wild animals. Marriage is invariably conducted by sale, an ox or two cows

being the common price of a wife. Polygamy is permitted, but, from the difficulty of purchase, is confined to the chiefs, who seek helpmates in preference from among the Tambookies, a neighbouring tribe. Conjugal infidelity is rare.

On returning from the Caffre country, it was resolved to undertake an expedition over the Sneuwberg, or Mountains of Snow, to the north, with the view of observing this almost untrodden region, and the Bosjesmans, its savage inhabitants. The travellers, in their ascent, soon came to a cavern which had been inhabited by these people. Mr Barrow was much surprised to find here drawings of animals executed with an accuracy, as well as force and spirit, which would scarcely have disgraced an European artist. The materials were charcoal, pipe-clay, and the different ochres. Soon after, at the house of the Commandant of Sneuwberg, he saw a Bosjesman prisoner, who described his countrymen as a truly miserable race, suffering indescribably from cold and want of food, knowing every nation around to be enemies continually planning their destruction, and never hearing a bird scream, without apprehending danger.

The Sneuwberg presents an aspect of nature very different from the other tracts bordering on the Cape. It has the same foundation of blue schistus; but the upper regions consist of horizontal strata of sandstone, without those quartzose masses,

which distinguish the other chains. This region is entirely destitute of trees, but produces in abundance grass and corn, though this last is liable to that great scourge of Africa, the locust. The sheep are the best which the colony produces. The situation of the inhabitants is peculiarly hard, from being perpetually exposed to the attack of the savage Bosjesmans. The farmer can neither plough, sow, nor reap, unless armed. He dare not even go out to gather a few vegetables, without a gun in his hand. This perpetual danger gives them more hardy and active habits than the other colonists. The women even possess more animation; and some have taken a musquet, and attacked the assailants.

The party, proceeding with an advanced guard for the purpose of observation, succeeded at length in surprising a kraal of Bosjesmans. Contrary to express orders, two of the guides fired; upon which the whole of the kraal set up frightful screams, and ran to the top of the neighbouring rocks. Finding themselves not pursued, and presents offered, the children first came down, then the women; lastly, three or four men; but no more could be induced to approach. They are perhaps the ugliest race in nature; though, if the letter S be considered as the line of beauty, it might be presented by a section from the breast to the knee. The protuberance behind consisted of fat which, in walking,

had a quivering and tremulous motion, like masses of jelly. The Bosjesmans are gayer, more active, and more ingenious, than the Hottentots of the colony. In the enmity between them and the colonists, cemented by a long series of ill offices, Mr Barrow imputes the chief blame to the latter.

After returning to the Cape, Mr Barrow undertook by himself a journey along the western coast, into the country of the Namaquas. The soil on this part of the coast is almost pure sand, but possessed of an adhesive quality which renders it surprisingly fertile. Immense crops of wheat and barley, besides all sorts of vegetables, are produced with little culture. Sometimes ploughing is unnecessary from the loose character of the soil. The mountains are composed of sandstone, and often tower to an immense height in columns, pyramids, and other forms, which give them the appearance of works of art. The whole of this coast, to a vast extent northwards, is composed entirely of sand and sandstone.

The Namaquas do not materially differ in appearance from the other Hottentots, though their language is entirely distinct. Beyond them, on the other side of the Orange river, are the Damaras, who inhabit a very poor country, and subsist entirely by manufacturing and selling to their neighbours the copper with which their mountains abound.

Mr Barrow undertook another excursion into the country of the Caffres; but as it led him over nearly the same ground, the great length of the present analysis will preclude our following him.

Mr Barrow, in his second journey to the country of the Caffres, obtained some intelligence respecting the nation of the Boshuanas. No steps, however, were taken to follow up this information, till an accidental combination of circumstances brought that people fully into notice. In 1801, as the colony laboured under a scarcity of cattle, Messrs Trutter and Sommerville, accompanied by a draughtsman, secretary, several Dutch boors, and a body of Hottentots, were sent to find, if possible, a supply in some of the remote parts of the settlement. After passing the Great Karroo, they came to the country of the Bosjesmans, a few of whom they saw, exhibiting those symptoms of extreme poverty which all travellers have remarked. Beyond them they came to the banks of the Orange river, which they found to be inhabited by a tribe of Hottentots, called Kora, or Korana, much superior to the Bosjesmans in circumstances and appearance. Though entirely unacquainted with agriculture, their flocks were tolerably numerous, and they were more cleanly, active, and intelligent, than the more southern tribes. Here they met a Boshuana, and received from him such an account of his country and nation, as tempted them to proceed. Under

his guidance they reached the frontier, and sent forward one of their guides to Leetakoo, the capital. He soon returned with four deputies from the king, who brought full assurance of a welcome reception. Next day, other four more arrived, one of whom was the brother of the king. They immediately, therefore, began their journey through a fertile and finely watered country, and, in a few days, arrived at Leetakoo. They were surprised to find it a large town, containing from two to three thousand houses, and from ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants. They were received in a most friendly manner by the king, a venerable old man, who immediately invited them to his house, and introduced them to his two wives. A very great measure of curiosity, as might be expected, was excited by their appearance, more particularly among the female inhabitants. The bag in which their hair was tied up caused peculiar wonder, and was supposed to be the tail of an animal fastened to the head.

The Boshuanas display considerable ingenuity in the construction of their houses. Each is built within an enclosure, containing apartments for the different branches of the family. The ground is raised so that the water may escape out at the door; and an open space in front being employed for cooking, the interior is kept free from the inconvenience of smoke. Coolness is maintained by a

species of large *mimosa*, with which every house is overshadowed, and the branches of which are preserved with religious care. The people are not entirely black, like the eastern Caffres; some are of a bronze colour, and others of a brown, approaching to that of the Hottentots. They have not the fine athletic figure of the Caffres; but have made greater progress in civilization and the arts. Though pasturage be their chief occupation, they also cultivate the ground, and raise different species of seeds, of which the principal is the *Holcus surgum*, commonly boiled with milk. This labour, however, as in all rude states, is entirely devolved upon the female sex. They have an eager passion for tobacco. They eat without distinction the flesh of all the wild animals whom they kill in hunting, even that of wolves, leopards, and hyenas. The party offered knives in barter, which were rejected with contempt, as they had knives of their own made to cut with two edges, and of much superior quality. Cattle, knives, and beads, were their standing commodities, and circulated as money.

The government of the Boshuanas is patriarchal. The old men form a council, without whose advice the king undertakes nothing of importance. They decide, also, the differences which arise among the members of the community; though, from the gentle and peaceable disposition here prevalent, quarrels are few and of little importance.

The mission had determined to proceed northwards, in order to visit the Barroloos, a tribe of whom they had learned some particulars. The king of Leetakoo, however, drew such an unfavourable and alarming picture of that nation, that they were deterred from advancing. But, on their return homewards from Leetakoo, they met a Hottentot who had been in the country of the Barroloos, and assured them that they were a milder, more civilized, and courteous people, than the Boshuanas; that their cities were larger, their houses better built, and their fields more highly cultivated, and that their capital was only ten days' journey distant from Leetakoo. The king of the Boshuanas appeared, therefore, to have been swayed by the jealousy usual among neighbouring states; though, from subsequent accounts, it appears doubtful if his report was so wholly unfounded as was at one time supposed.

Soon after the report of Messrs Trutter and Sommerville was received at the Cape, the government of the colony felt a laudable desire to follow out this interesting train of discovery. Lord Caledon, therefore, fitted out an expedition of twenty persons, whom he sent under the command of Dr Cowan and Lieut. Donovan, with instructions to cross the African continent as far as the Portuguese settlements of Mosambique or Sofala. They,

accordingly, penetrated beyond Leetakoo; and a letter, dated the 21st of December 1808, was received from Dr Cowan,* who was then at the residence of Makkrakka, a chief who had separated from the king of Leetakoo. They were in about 24° S. lat. which would make them nearly eleven days' journey beyond that city. The country was described as more rich and beautiful than any they had yet seen in Southern Africa; it was watered by the river Meloppo, which rose out of a large lake, and flowed in a north-west direction. Nothing could exceed the kindness which they experienced from Makkrakka, who even sent his brother to introduce them to the Wanketchies, the tribe whom they were next to visit. Unfavourable rumours, however, arising, Lord Caledon sent a vessel to Sofala, to make every possible inquiry. The intelligence there received was, that, the travellers having arrived in the dominions of the king of Zaire, between Inhambane and Sofala, that prince made a demand of one of the boat-shaped waggons in which they conveyed their baggage;—that this being refused, he set upon them in the night, and cut the whole party to pieces, except two, who escaped. The governor of Mosambique, having sent some trusty negroes up the country, received nearly the same information.

* Quart. Rev. July 1815.

Mr Campbell, whose travels we shall presently notice, received at Leetakoo information somewhat differing from the above. The catastrophe, he was told, happened in the country of Wanketzens, the same doubtless which Cowan calls the Wanketchies. They were at first well received; but that treacherous people were only watching the opportunity of attack. The two chiefs imprudently went to bathe, leaving one party at the waggons, and another to guard the cattle. The natives successively attacking these three parties, cut them all off except one, who also was afterwards taken, and put to death. Mr Campbell saw the bugle which Mr Donovan, who belonged to the light infantry, wore in his cap; and some other fragments of dress and ornament. The difference of place and circumstance may have arisen from the number of hands through which the reports passed; and no doubt can unhappily remain of the deplorable issue which attended this expedition.

In the years 1803-6, Dr Henry Lichtenstein visited the different countries of Southern Africa. The greater part of his journey coincides with that performed not long before by Mr Barrow; in consideration of which, and of our limits, we shall confine ourselves to that part of his narrative which relates to the residence among the Boshuanas. That people is so interesting, and yet so imper-

fectly known, as to render it desirable, in their case, to collect all possible information.

In entering the country of the Boshuanas, Lichtenstein and his party were accompanied by a native of the name of Kok. The first whom they met were some shepherds lying under the shade of a lofty Giraffe tree. They immediately went to meet the travellers, and addressed them with *Morra*, borrowed from *good morrow*, which they had learned from the missionaries. At sight of Kok, they testified their joy by loud laughter and clapping of hands. M. Lichtenstein, who, we know not why, had conceived the most dreadful apprehensions from the character of the people, was much reassured by this interview, and still more when they met another party, whose tender inquiries after some of their countrymen who had accompanied Kok, and pathetic lamentations over two who had died, gave the most favourable impression of their gentle and humane dispositions. Our travellers, therefore, proceeded without apprehension, and soon came to a village, where they were received with the same frankness and cordiality. The natives, and particularly the females, shewed here peculiar readiness in helping themselves to tobacco, and to the provisions which the travelling party spread out for dinner. Soon after their departure from this village, they crossed the river Kuruhman, and, by a winding path through

a wood of fine trees, arrived at Leetakoo. They were conducted to a spot shaded by three Giraffe trees, of which the middle one was particularly fine, and said to be the favourite tree of the king. An immense crowd soon assembled, and blocked up the passage of the waggons. Kok expressed a wish to see the king, who quickly appeared; an old man about sixty, of a serious aspect, with a mantle over his shoulders, and a cap on his head. He approached slowly, followed by a number of men of his own age, who formed a semicircle behind him. He welcomed them cordially, and promised soon to pay them a visit at their own residence. After some conversation, a pipe of tobacco was presented to his majesty; who, having lighted it, immediately began to inhale the smoke by large draughts after the African manner. He then handed it over his shoulder to the prime minister, who, having imitated his master's example, transferred it to another, and it thus passed from hand to hand, till it reached the lowest of the train. As evening approached, the monarch took his leave.

From this time, visits were frequent; and on one occasion, the king brought his two wives to see the strangers. One of them was called Makaitschoäh, about twenty-two years old, and of extreme beauty. This quality had led the king to raise her from the lowest rank, and make her his principal wife. The other was Marani, only fifteen, not

nearly so handsome, but an agreeable little girl. Their rank was indicated by a profuse display of ornamental dress. Their mantles were trimmed with the most valuable furs, and on their left shoulder was fastened a bundle of cats' tails, which hung down before and behind. A variety of necklaces, composed of plates of copper, bone, and coral, were worn very wide, and hanging down upon the breast. Makaitschoäh had fastened on her arm no less than seventy-two copper rings, which she seemed to view as affording the fullest indication of her rank, and took peculiar delight in having them examined and counted. Tea, which was first offered, appeared very little acceptable; wine was greatly preferred, and brandy proved still more acceptable. After some conversation about their children and families, they began to inquire particularly into the condition of their sex in Europe. On being told of the regulations with respect to marriage, Makaitschoäh observed, that such laws might be there very proper, but would never suit a country like theirs, in which so large a proportion of the men were cut off in time of war. The wine and conversation caused the ladies to prolong their visit somewhat beyond what was expected or wished; and it was dark before they took their departure.

Dr. Lichtenstein's residence was interrupted by an unwelcome request from the king. That prince was

then about to engage in war against his neighbour Makkrakka, to aid him in which, he asked the travellers to follow with their fire arms. Dr Lichtenstein excused himself from complying; but a serious consultation then arose among the party as to the course they were to follow. It was their wish to have prosecuted their journey in a south-westerly direction, avoiding the scene of hostilities; but an examination into the state of their equipage left no doubt as to the expediency of returning homewards.

The Boshuanas, whom Dr Lichtenstein calls in preference Beetjuanas, Sihtjuanas, or Muhtjuanas, consist of a number of tribes belonging to the same race, who extend from thirteen to eighteen days' journey north from the river Kuruhman. The Matchapins, the possessors of Leetakoo, are a comparatively small tribe, numbering not more than five thousand fighting men. Ten days' journey to the east are the Thammacha, a much more numerous tribe, and who dwell in a greater number of villages. North from these are the Chojaa and Muchurutzi, the latter of whom are reckoned the bravest of all these tribes. Three days west from them are the Wanketsi, described by Lichtenstein as the weakest of the Boshuanas. Between them and the Maatjapings are two tribes of Muruhlongs, (Barroloos of Trutter,) one of whom, under Makkrakka, was formerly united with Leetakoo, but has

since separated. It numbers ten thousand fighting men. The Matsaroqua, a friendly people, lie to the west. The most numerous of all, situated in the remotest north-east, are the Macquini. They are remarkable for their skill in working metals; and from them the arms, needles, rings, and other metallic instruments and ornaments used by the Caffres and Maatjapings, are derived, after passing through four or five hands. They are reported to have in their country a large mountain, one side of which is composed of copper, and the other of iron. From Mr Salt's report, afterwards to be noticed, there would appear to be a mistake in ranking this people among the Boshuanas.

The Boshuanas are proved, both by their language and appearance, to be of the same original stock with the Caffres. They are less vigorous and athletic, and do not, in the male sex, present such fine and handsome forms; but, in return, the women possess a much larger share of beauty. They are also more industrious and civilized, construct their houses with greater skill, and cultivate agriculture with much more diligence. The tending of cattle, however, is their main employment, and some of the rich possess from eight to ten separate herds. The men carry on this branch of industry, while the cares of agriculture devolve entirely upon the females. They share, however, with the Caffres, the entire rejection of fish as an

article of food, though several of their rivers produce it of excellent quality. The most barbarous custom is that of their war feasts, held on their return from any military expedition. Each warrior, then, who has slain an enemy in battle, produces a piece of his flesh, which he has cut off, roasts, and eats it. The priest then makes an incision along the whole length of his thigh, the scar of which remains ever after as a testimony of his prowess.

The sovereign in these tribes is very absolute, and treated by the subjects with marks of profound reverence. He seldom, however, undertakes any affair of importance without calling a council of the chief men; nor does he, unless invited, interfere in the private quarrels between individuals, though they should fight with, or even kill one another. When he is called in to decide, his sentence is absolute, and usually executed with his own hand.

The next journey into the interior of this part of Africa was undertaken by Dr Campbell, at the request of the Missionary Society. Whether there was much prospect of success to this benevolent object on the theatre of Southern Africa, it is needless here to inquire. It may only be observed, that geographical knowledge, though considered by this traveller as a very secondary object, received some accessions from the journey which he performed.

Our traveller proceeded through the Karroo wilderness and across the Sneuwberg, by the same route that had been taken by Messrs Trutter and Sommerville. Here he found a missionary establishment, which did not seem in a very prosperous state. Kicherer, who was at its head, instead of seeking to reclaim the natives from their savage habits, had married a Hottentot wife, and become every way conformed to the persons with whom he had thus allied himself. After proceeding through the Bosjesman, which he calls the Bushman's country, and then through that of the Coranas, he arrived at Leetakoo. The king happened to be absent, and the party were surprised, in passing through the place, by an uncommon stillness, and by no inhabitants appearing. On arriving, however, at the great square before the king's house, they found two or three hundred men armed, and arranged in regular order; and the place was soon filled with men, women, and children, to the number of about a thousand. At first, however, evident marks of shyness and suspicion appeared, which were found to arise from the dread that they were coming to take vengeance for the death of Dr Cowan and his party. When they were found to have no such object in view, the natives immediately thronged around them with the most eager wish, both to gratify their curiosity and to obtain presents. The party were thus obliged, by drawing their waggons

round in a circle, to form a space within them, in which they might be sheltered from these solicitations. Tobacco and snuff were the objects in most eager demand. One of the king's wives having asked Mr Read for a supply, was answered, that he did not take snuff; on which she observed that he would, on that account, have the more to spare.

Soon after, Mateebe, the present sovereign, and son to the king, who had received the former party, arrived from a hunting expedition. He marched through the town with numerous attendants, bearing spears and poles dressed with black ostrich feathers. He passed through the square without taking any notice of the strangers; but after having spent about ten minutes in conversation with his ministers, he called them in. His first reception was not extremely courteous, and he rather declined the proposition of a permanent mission being established at Lectakoo, urging that the people were so much occupied with their cattle, planting, and other branches of industry, that they could have little time to receive instruction. Mr Campbell, however, urging that the Europeans, though Christians, were much more industrious than the Boshuanas, as might be judged even by the specimens which he brought along with him, the king at length agreed that missionaries might be sent, and that he would treat them well.

It appears, that since the visit of Messrs Trut-

ter and Sommerville, Lectakoo has been moved sixty miles from its former situation, in consequence of a schism in the ruling powers. It appears now consequently smaller than before, containing only fifteen hundred houses, and between seven and eight thousand inhabitants.

Mr Campbell agrees with former reporters as to the gay, gentle, and peaceable demeanour of these people. The labours were not only performed by the women, but the queen herself worked at their head. Reason was found to believe, that the tranquillity was internal only, and that the Boshuanas carried on war as fiercely as all other barbarians. The usual object of their expeditions is to plunder the cattle of their neighbours. Mr Campbell having, in the course of religious instruction, asked one of them "for what "end man was made," the answer was, "for "plundering expeditions." Materee, one of the chiefs, had recently made a long excursion to the westward, over extensive deserts, till he came to a great water, probably the Atlantic Ocean, where they found a harmless people, many of whom he killed, and carried off their cattle. The standard of excellence is formed by the number of men whom each individual has killed; and in this scale, one white man is considered equivalent to two black.

The two tribes immediately to the north of

Leetakoo are the Morolongs (Barroloos of Trutter) and the Wanketzens; concerning the precise situation and distance of whom, Mr Campbell seems to have received somewhat contradictory information. Moosso, the capital of the Morolongs, is much larger than Leetakoo, and contains ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. Melita, the chief place of the Warketzens, is somewhat smaller than Moosso. Farther to the north are the Macquanas, the most populous and civilized of all these tribes, and whose capital was described as three times larger than Leetakoo.

Mr Campbell's party, in their return southwards, took a somewhat more easterly direction than their predecessors. This enabled them to observe the junction of four great rivers, the Malalareen, the Yellow river, the Alexander, and the Cradock, which concur in forming the Great or Orange river, a stream which runs here nearly across the continent, and falls into the Atlantic. The party wishing to reach a mission in Namaqua-land, went eastward across the continent, and along the banks of this river, a tract not before visited by any traveller. The whole extent of it is a complete desert of sand, into which the wheels of the carriages sunk so deep, that they could, with the utmost difficulty, be dragged along. The sandstone rocks rose in perpendicular walls, often prolonged to an immense extent, so as to remind the

travellers of the "wall of China." The western coast, for a great distance north from the Orange river, and south as far as the Kaffiesberg, is of the same dreary character. At one place the heat rose as high as 101°; the ink grew thick, the water warm, and the butter was converted into oil. When the Hottentots find the heat increase to an alarming degree, they dig the earth or sand till they find it cold, and rub themselves over with it, so as to afford a temporary relief.

Mr Campbell visited Pella, the principal missionary station in Namaqua-land, containing six hundred and thirty-six people, who are represented as harmless and honest. He then turned his steps towards the colony, where he arrived on the 31st October 1813, after an absence of nine months.

About the same time with Mr Campbell, Mr Burchell traversed the country of the Boshuanas, chiefly with a view to observe its natural history. Only a short notice of his journey has appeared in the Journal of the Royal Institution. On crossing the Orange river he found the aspect of nature, and of its productions, entirely changed. In zoology, he observed the manis; a new species of rhinoceros; several of the dog genus and of the feline tribe; a lynx; many of the genus viverra; several of the murine kind; the camelopardalis; five of the horse genus, &c. New birds, la certæ,

and serpents were also found in great variety. Botany presented entirely a new aspect. The surface was commonly flat, and presented often plains of apparently boundless extent. In one place there was an immense forest of acacias, of which the inhabitants know not the termination. He penetrated one degree beyond Leetakoo, to the frontier of a country which he calls Karrikarri; but there his guides and attendants refused to proceed any farther.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EASTERN COAST.

Voyage of Vasco de Gama.—Description and conquest of Zanguebar.—Settlement of Mosambique and Sofala.—Expeditions to the Gold Mines.—Hamilton.—Salt.

THERE is no part of the African continent which has been less explored, or which, in fact, has excited less interest in Europe, than the eastern coast. This may be, in a great measure, imputed to the jealous care with which the Portuguese guarded its approach, and withheld all information respecting it. The only details of its early discovery are found in the narratives which the Portuguese historians have given of the exploits of their countrymen in India. The first and most interesting voyage is that of Vasco de Gama, who was obliged to sail along the greater part of this coast before he could procure a guide across the ocean. In detailing his progress, we shall take De Barrôs * as our best and most authentic guide.

On the 20th of November 1498, Gama passed the celebrated boundary of the Cape of Tempests, with much less danger and difficulty than the crew

* Da Asia, Liv. IV. 4, 5, 6. VIII. 4, 5, 7, 8.

had apprehended. Finding the coast now bend inwards, he kept carefully out to sea, lest he should be entangled in the depth of some large bay; and by this means he missed Sofala, the great emporium of those seas. He touched, however, at the mouth of a large river, where the sailors, who were tired of seeing nothing but negro visages as black as jet, recognised with pleasure a mixed colour, and found some individuals who were understood by their Arabic interpreter. The intercourse was amicable; and they were assured, that, on proceeding to the eastward, they would find civilized nations who navigated in large vessels, and could easily furnish the pilots required. Having arrived accordingly at Mosambique, they cast anchor at some islands near the mouth of the harbour. Three or four boats soon came out, having on board white men dressed in caps and cotton robes, and who were singing and playing on musical instruments. These boats having come up, a leading man on board inquired in Arabic who they were, and what they wanted. On being informed that they were subjects of the king of Portugal, a cloud came over his countenance, which was supposed to arise from learning that they were Christians. They afterwards learned that he was a native of Fez, and, consequently, deeply imbued with the enmity of his countrymen to the Portuguese name. However, he studiously dissembled,—received graciously their

presents,—undertook to report their wishes to his sovereign, who was called the Xeque,—and assured them that there could be no difficulty in procuring pilots to convey them to India. At his return he shewed equal outward courtsey. The Portuguese were much surprised when three of his attendants, on seeing the image of the angel Gabriel on the stern of the admiral's ship, fell down and worshipped it. On inquiry, they found that these were natives of Abyssinia, or of the dominions of Prester John, who, though now converted to the Moorish faith, felt an instinctive reverence at the view of the objects of their early adoration. The deep veneration which every true Portuguese felt for the name of Prester John, made the intelligence be received with extraordinary emotion, and they eagerly sought to converse with these persons. This was observed with visible jealousy by the Moors, who took immediate care to withdraw the Abyssinians, and to prevent their returning. Grounds of suspicion continued to increase, till at length they broke out into open hostility. Some boats, which the Portuguese had sent on shore, were attacked by twenty of the enemy's vessels, which they beat off, not without considerable loss. Upon this unequivocal proof of the hostile disposition of the natives, De Gama judged it most advisable to set sail. The force of currents, however, obliged him to anchor at some

islands near the shore. Being again obliged to land for water, the crew were met by a body of two thousand men, who poured in upon them clouds of arrows. The first discharge of artillery, however, put these assailants to flight, and caused such terror, that the Xeque immediately sent to make an apology for what had passed, and to offer a pilot, who, he assured them, was every way qualified to be their guide to India. He was accordingly received on board, and the expedition set sail; but they soon found, says the writer, "they had with "them a mortal enemy rather than a pilot." It was not long till he embarrassed them among some islands, from which they could with difficulty extricate themselves. There was no prospect of reaching India under such guidance; and Gama therefore readily listened to his proposal of touching at Quiloa, which, he was assured, contained a great number of Abyssinians and natives of India, and where there could be no difficulty of procuring a proper pilot. The currents carried them beyond Quiloa; and it was then determined to touch at Mombaça, which was asserted to contain an equal proportion of the subjects of Prester John. In a few days they arrived at Mombaça, the view of which affected the armament with singular pleasure. The houses were built of stone, with terraces and windows in the Spanish style, so that it appeared to them as if they were entering a port of Spain. Their satisfaction was greatly aug-

mented, when a boat came off with several leading men on board, who welcomed them, and assured them of being supplied with every thing they wanted. It was only added, that, according to the law of the place, it was necessary that the vessels should first come into the harbour. The admiral was by no means gratified with this condition; but in a day or two, the necessity of his situation, and the earnest entreaties of his men, induced him to consent. The ships therefore began to move, to the equal joy both of Portuguese and Moors, one imagining that they were at the end of all their troubles, and the other that their prey was finally secured. In this crisis the expedition was saved by an interposition, which the historian hesitates not to consider as miraculous. The admiral's vessel being in danger of running into shallow water, a loud cry was raised for an anchor; and as the casting one, at this era of nautical science, was a complicated operation, the Portuguese ran from all quarters to the spot. The Moors, imagining that these symptoms indicated the discovery of their treacherous design, hurried to their boats, and some even leaped into the sea, and gained them by swimming. This extraordinary panic opened the eyes of the Portuguese, whose movements into the harbour were immediately stopped. They defeated an attempt made by the Moors during the night to cut their anchors, and next day set sail for the northward. Their next trial was at Melinda, where

they were more successful, the king being induced by liberal presents to receive them well, and to grant them a pilot, under whose guidance they reached safely the coast of Malabar.

In giving a general description of the coast of Zanguebar, De Barros observes, that the whole extent from Cape Guardafui to Mosambique forms an immense bay, extending about fifteen hundred and sixty leagues; not so deeply indented as it is described by Ptolemy, but rather resembling the rib of a quadruped. That from Mosambique to the Cape of Corrientes is a hundred and seventy leagues, and describes a curve which may be compared to an elbow; while the line of three hundred and forty leagues, from thence to the Cape of Good Hope, is likened to the loin. The whole of this coast is low, marshy, covered with a thick underwood, like thorns, which scarcely allows a passage beneath. The air is still more corrupted, and the situation consequently more unhealthy, than on the opposite shore of Guinea. The coast was entirely in possession of the Arabs, who had settlements at Magadoxo, Melinda, Quiloa, Zanzibar, Mosambique, Sofala, and various other points. The capital of all these dominions, and the centre of commerce, was Quiloa, a large city situated on an island close to the main-land. It was built chiefly of stone and lime, with terraces, and gardens agreeably planted with trees, though the streets were very narrow.

In 1505, a large fleet, under Don Francisco de Almeyda, arrived before this city. The commander soon succeeded in procuring a quarrel with the king of Quiloa. He landed in the night, attacked the city at two points, and though the natives were enabled, by the narrowness of the streets, to make a vigorous resistance, at length carried the place, the king flying into the interior. He next proceeded to Mombaça, where the resistance was still more obstinate. After a combat of two days, he made himself master of the town; but having sustained a severe loss, consoled himself by laying it in ashes; "when," says the historian with true Catholic zeal, "was consumed the "greater part of that city of abomination." Almeyda then sailed to Melinda, which did not offer any resistance.

The southern part of this coast, however, finally became the chief object of attention to the Portuguese. Besides affording stations of refreshment for the vessels bound to India, it presented that object of supreme attraction—gold. The stores of that metal, which came down the Zambese, and were exported from Sofala, soon excited their eager avidity. In 1505, permission was obtained from the king of Sofala to build a fort, which they were soon able to maintain by force. In 1508, they erected another at Mosambique, which soon became the capital of all their settlements upon this

coast, and the point where the India ships stopped for refreshment. De Barros, however, regrets the choice of a situation so extremely unhealthy, that fleets, which an unfavourable monsoon obliged to winter in it, were often left in spring without men sufficient for enabling them to proceed on their voyage. The ambition of the Portuguese now involved them in a long train of hostilities, both with the Arabs and with the native inhabitants. In the year 1769, the Arabs were entirely expelled from Mosambique and Sofala, and, at the same time, from all their settlements on the river Zambese. The Portuguese now began to attempt penetrating into the interior, in search of the mines containing the gold that was brought down to the coast. Don Sebastian, immediately on his accession, sent out a formidable expedition under Francis Barreto, for the purpose of penetrating into the territories of Monomotapa and Manica. Barreto seems to have possessed all the vigour and enterprise requisite for so arduous a service. The sovereign of Monomotapa, called the Quiteve, being exceedingly dubious as to the object and issue of this expedition, resolved to oppose it with his whole force. He soon found himself unable to cope with the Portuguese in the open field; but he began a concealed and harassing warfare, by sudden attacks and cutting off their supplies. Though the Portuguese suffered dread-

fully, they still persevered, and, at length, through a thousand difficulties reached Manica, where the principal gold mines were situated. These were found in no degree to correspond with the magnificent expectations formed of them, or the labours and dangers through which they had been reached. They appear, by the description of Santos, to be similarly situated with those of Bambouk, in alluvial earth, which is collected by digging deep pits, and from which the gold is separated by long agitation in water. The Portuguese, in viewing the process, felt no inclination to dispute with the natives the performance of so long and laborious an operation. Barreto judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with the Quiteve, by which the monarch granted a free passage to the Portuguese through his dominions, in return for which a tribute of two hundred ells of linen cloth was stipulated to be paid to him.

Barreto, meantime, was not discouraged; he resolved to search in the more remote country of the Mongas for other gold mines, which he hoped might prove more productive. The Mongas opposed a still more formidable resistance. A great battle was fought, in which, though the sorceress on whom they placed their main reliance was early slain, they long maintained the field. At length they were defeated, and had recourse, like their neighbours, to irregular and protracted warfare.

Barreto at length fought his way to the mines, but found their appearance equally unsatisfactory as those of Manica. Reports, however, reached him that the silver mines of Chicova would prove a much more productive source of wealth; and of these he immediately set out in search. He appeared at one time on the eve of discovering them; an Indian having undertaken, on the promise of a magnificent reward, to lead him to the spot This Indian then contrived to collect a quantity of silver, which he secretly buried at a certain depth in the earth. Pretending fear of his countrymen, he led them, at dead of night, to the spot, where, by digging, they soon came to the silver there deposited. Barreto's joy was unbounded; he appeared to himself to have reached the summit of wealth and fame, and immediately delivered to the Indian the promised reward. That personage, in the course of the night, found it convenient to disappear, and was never again seen. The Portuguese at first apprehended that he had fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of his countrymen, for having opened to them this splendid discovery; but on continuing to work, without finding another particle of silver, they soon became sensible how the affair stood. Barreto's credulity, however, was not exhausted. The king of the country having undertaken to lead him to the much sought for mines, he set out with the bulk of his troops, leaving a detachment to de-

fend the fort. The Portuguese being then conducted into a narrow pass, were suddenly attacked by the natives, who were posted on all the neighbouring heights. The situation was so disadvantageous, as to render skill and valour of no avail; and very few of the party escaped. The fort, having then no garrison adequate to defend it, was attacked, carried, and all the troops put to the sword.

This was not the only reverse which the Portuguese sustained. They had a series of terrible wars to sustain, from an inroad of the Mumbos or Zimbas, a tribe described as resembling the Giagas; as eating human flesh, destroying their newborn infants, and living in a continual state of wandering and plunder. Being conducted with equal valour and skill by their king Muzimbas, they cut off repeated expeditions sent against them from Mosambique. At length Muzimbas was totally defeated in an attack against Mombaça. Upon the whole, the Portuguese appear to have been merely able to maintain, with difficulty, a chain of forts along the Zambese, for the protection of their trade with the district in which the gold mines are situated.

In 1720, Captain Hamilton sailed along the eastern coast of Africa. At that time Mombaça and Patta had been wrested from the Portuguese, and were in the power of the Arabs of Muskat. Mosambique was, as it has always been, the principal

Portuguese settlement. He agrees, however, with De Barros in describing it as unhealthy in an extraordinary degree. Criminals condemned to death at Goa were, as a punishment nearly equivalent, sent to this settlement, where five or six years were accounted a long life. He was told that the gold and ivory obtained in the interior were purchased at a very easy rate. The natives, on receiving a certain quantity of toys and glass beads, dug a hole in the earth, into which they put these articles, then taking them out, they filled the same hole with gold dust, and gave it in exchange. Ivory was given for its bulk in a certain species of Indian cloth. The author, however, does not pledge himself for these terms of trade. The slaves brought from Mosambique were highly esteemed in India. Peculiar care was taken to convert them to the Christian faith, in the profession of which some of them became eminent, and were even raised to the character of priests.

Mr Salt, who visited Mosambique in 1809, has favoured us with the only recent description of this part of Africa. This settlement retained few traces of the strength and importance which once distinguished it. The fort was indeed advantageously situated, and defended by eighty pieces of cannon; but these were in a state of total neglect, and covered with the rust of antiquity. Some of

them were dated 1660, and one, calculated for throwing balls of 100 lbs. weight, appeared to be of Turkish origin. The garrison consisted merely of a few sentries, some confined felons, and two or three old women. In short, the state of defence was such, that a trader of Mocha undertook, if he were furnished with a hundred good Arabian troops, to drive the Portuguese at once out of this metropolis of Eastern Africa.

In the interior of the government house, there still appeared traces of the ancient vice-regal magnificence. Tea was set out in a service of pure gold, and the negro attendants were profusely loaded with ornaments of that metal. According to an ancient custom, the governor's house was open in the evening to all the principal inhabitants of the place, who waited upon him, and were entertained with tea. The population is reckoned by Mr Salt at five hundred Portuguese, eight hundred of Arabian extraction, and fifteen hundred negroes. The trade is much reduced, and consists in gold, ivory, and slaves. The number of slaves annually exported does not now exceed four thousand. Gold and ivory sell at high prices, the former at L. 3, 5s. the ounce, the latter at L. 22 to L. 25 the hundred weight. The profits of this trade must be very great, as the articles taken in exchange by the natives are exceedingly simple; such as salt, shells, tobacco, co-

loured handkerchiefs, and coarse cloths. Mr Salt was even assured that, high in the interior, articles of the value of two dollars would purchase either a slave, or from sixty to eighty pounds of ivory.

Mosambique is built upon a small island at the mouth of a deep bay. Immediately to the north is the peninsula of Caboceiro, nine miles long and four broad, and connected with the continent by a neck of land about a mile in breadth. In it are situated the country-houses of the governor and principal inhabitants; and most of the provisions consumed at Mosambique are raised here. It forms, in fact, the limit of Portuguese dominion, and is frequently itself exposed to attack from the native tribes.

The gold and ivory exported from Mosambique is chiefly brought from the mountainous tract near the head of the Zambese, and the preservation of the settlements on that river has always been the main object of Portuguese policy. At its mouth, about three days' sail to the south of Mosambique, is the port of Quilimanci, where there is a depôt for merchandize. About 247 miles above Quilimanci lies Sena, the principal settlement on the river. Twenty days' journey inland lies Manica, the great mart for gold, where an annual market is held, in which that commodity, with ivory and ghee, is bartered for Surat

cloths, beads, coarse silks, and iron. The country is mountainous and fertile; but it is in the power of native chiefs, whom the Portuguese are obliged to conciliate by presents, as well as to pay a regular tribute to the Quiteve. About sixty leagues above Sena is Tête, a well regulated settlement, where there is also a depôt for merchandize. Beyond Tête the Portuguese ar epermitted to maintain a small factory at Zumbo, a place which can be reached only by a difficult and circuitous route, requiring nearly a month to accomplish.

The jurisdiction of the Portuguese extends now from Cape Delgado on the north, to Cape Corrientes on the south. Sofala is reduced to a miserable village, but the country round is extremely fertile, and supplies rice and fruits to the inhabitants of Mosambique.

The principal native race, immediately behind Mosambique, is the Makooa, or Makooana, whose tribes extend from the neighbourhood of Melinda to the mouth of the Zambese. They are a strong athletic race of people; their aspect deformed and ferocious. They ornament their skins by tattowing, an operation often executed so rudely, that the marks rise to the eighth part of an inch above the surface. They file their teeth to a point so as to give to the whole set the appearance of a coarse saw. They wear their hair in various fantastic shapes; sometimes shaving one side, sometimes both sides, with a crest extending across

from the brow to the neck; sometimes leaving only a tuft on the crown. Their enmity against the Portuguese is inveterate, and not excited without just cause. They fight chiefly with spears, darts, and poisoned arrows; but they have procured also a considerable number of muskets. There seems little doubt that these are the nation reported by Campbell and Lichtenstein under the name of Macquanas; though, in that case, they are erroneously stated to belong to the Boshuana race, as they are negroes. Their females, however, have, in some degree, the curved spine and protruding hinder parts of the Hottentot women, whom they appear to rival in ugliness.

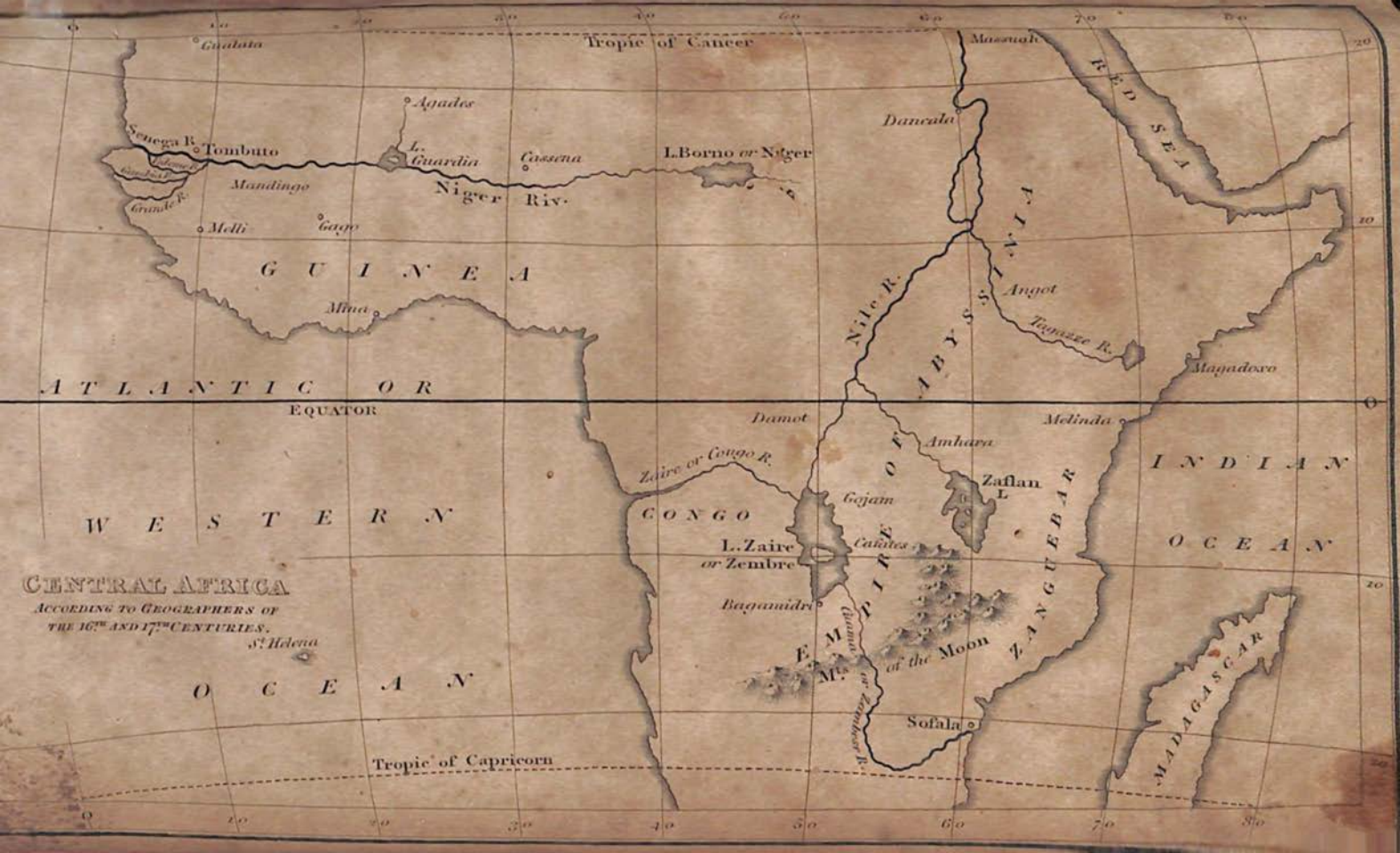
Behind the Makooa, and upwards of forty days' journey in the interior, are situated the Monjou, from whom seems derived the appellation of the empire of Monomuji, which, in our old maps, fills all the interior of this part of Africa. The Monjou are negroes of the ugliest description, of a deep shining black, with high cheek bones, thick lips, and small knots of woolly hair on their heads. Their weapons are chiefly bows and arrows, which they manage with considerable skill. They have a mode of exciting flame by rubbing two pieces of hard wood against each other, similar to that described by Mr Bruce, as practised by a tribe of Nuba near Sennaar. They appeared milder than the Makooa,

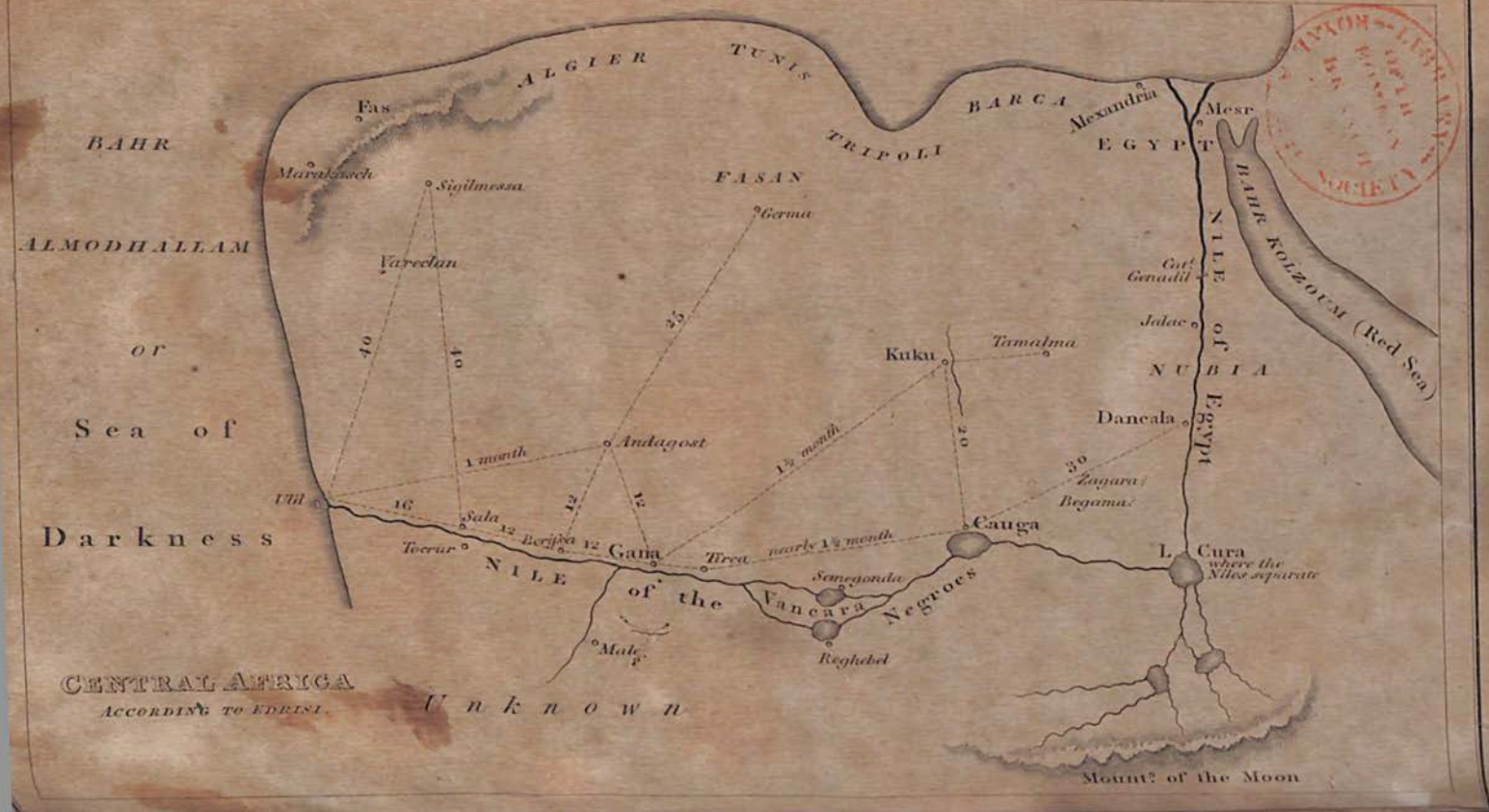
though this might arise from none of their nation being seen except traders.

In 1812, Quiloa was visited by Captain Beaver.* This ancient capital of Eastern Africa retained no traces of its former splendour. It was reduced to a number of scattered huts, and the export of slaves had fallen from ten thousand to a few hundreds. The Imaum of Muskat maintains here a fort mounting three guns, and defended by half a dozen soldiers, with which he keeps the king of Quiloa in awe, and levies a considerable tribute. By a similar display of force, he holds in subjection the neighbouring islands of Pemba, Zanzibar, and Monfia.

The coast of Africa, from Cape Guardafui to the Straits of Babelmandel, was found by Lord Valentia and Mr Salt to be inhabited by the tribes of the Somauli, who are an uncommonly active, industrious, and commercial race. Berbera is a large town situated upon this coast, where an extensive fair is annually held, and resorted to by caravans from a great distance in the interior. Lord Valentia saw some who came from the country in which the Bahr-el-Abiad takes its rise, and conceives that this would be the best channel for exploring the source of that great river. Gum arabic, myrrh, and frankincense, are the principal exports from this coast.

* Quart. Rev. July 1815.


CENTRAL AFRICA
ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHERS OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
EQUATOR
Gualata
Agades
Senega R.
Tombuto
L. Guardia
Cassena
L. Borno or Niger
Mandingo
Niger Riv.
Grande R.
Melli
Gago
GUINEA
Mina
ATLANTIC OR
WESTERN
OCEAN
St. Helena
Massuah
RED SEA
Dancala
Nile R.
ABYSSINIA
Angot
Tagazze R.
Magadoxo
Melinda
INDIAN
OCEAN
Damot
Amhara
Zaflan L.
Zaire or Congo R.
CONGO
Gojam
L. Zaire or Zembre
Cafates
Bagamidri
EMPIRE OF
ZANGUEBAR
Mts. of the Moon
Sofala
MADAGASCAR



BAHR
ALMODHALLAM
or
Sea of
Darkness
ALGIER
TUNIS
TRIPOLI
BARCA
FASAN
EGYPT
NUBIA
Fas
Marakasch
Sigilmessa
Vareclan
Germa
Alexandria
Mesr
Cat.
Genadil
Jalac
Tamalma
Kuku
Dancala
Andagost
Ulil
Sala
Berissa
Tocrur
Gana
Tirca
Semegonda
Cauga
Zagara
Begama
L. Cura
where the Niles separate
Reghebel
Male
Vancara
Negroes
NILE of the
NILE of Egypt
BAHR KOLZOUM (Red Sea)
Mount.s of the Moon
Unknown
40
40
25
1 month
1½ month
20
30
16
12
12
12
12
nearly 1½ month
CENTRAL AFRICA
ACCORDING TO EDRISI.

CENTRAL AFRICA

ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY.

BOOK III.

GEOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS, AND GENERAL VIEWS OF AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF GEOGRAPHICAL SYSTEMS FORMED RELATING TO AFRICA.

Errors of early Geography.—System of Herodotus.—Eratosthenes and Strabo.—Ptolemy.—The Arabians.—Modern Geographers during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.—Delisle and D'Anville.—Rennell.

THERE are few sciences, of which it is more curious to trace the origin and early progress, than that of geography. There is none to which the attention of mankind must have been earlier attracted, none more constantly pursued, and none which includes a greater variety both of moral and physical elements. Few sciences, therefore, are so well calculated to illustrate the difficult and devious course, by which the human mind proceeds from

its first state of glimmering uncertainty, to the attainment of extensive and accurate knowledge. Africa having, at all times, presented the grand field for speculation and opinion, is peculiarly calculated for illustrating these early steps of the science.

In an inquiry, all the objects of which are obvious to the senses, it might at first sight be expected, that man should be liable to imperfection only; that, having explored to a certain extent the world around him, he should tranquilly await the results of further discovery. Such a course, however, is ill suited to the active impatience of the human mind. Besides the natural effects of exaggeration and poetical illusion, sources of error arise from operations of the mind that are strictly scientific. One deeply rooted principle is the love of *completeness*, which causes the mind to feel always a painful void, when its survey over any subject is visibly broken and imperfect. This, which in itself is a noble principle, and highly instrumental in carrying forward the human mind in the career of science, is, in the earlier stages of its progress, pregnant with perpetual error. To relieve the uneasy feeling which it occasions, the geographer seeks, with the most imperfect means, to fill up the whole of that space, of which he conceives the habitable world to consist. Yet will it not be found, on examination, that these delineations were

made wholly without some guiding principle. In general, every geographical feature was extended in the direction which it followed, when it first merged into the unknown space. In some cases, indeed, a certain flexure is necessary, in order to complete the figure of a continent, an ocean, or other grand geographical feature. Such was the line by which, in the system of Ptolemy, the African continent was carried round till it met the farthest extremity of Asia. The estimate of distance was also a point on which the early geographers were naturally liable to much error. The most usual was that of exaggeration. Astronomical observations were yet rare, and very imperfect. The materials were derived almost entirely from travellers employed on mercantile or military objects. The difficulties and dangers of an unknown tract, the windings of the road, and the disposition to magnify their own achievements, combined in inducing such persons to form a high idea of the space which they had traversed. Sometimes, however, rumour conveys the knowledge of a grand remote feature, while the intermediate space is but imperfectly known. That space then appears less, and the distant object nearer, than it really is. Thus the pillars of Hercules, made known to the early Greeks by the exploits of that celebrated adventurer, were placed by them very little beyond Sicily. Thus, in the system of Eratosthenes, a

full third was cut off, both from the length and breadth of Asia, and the northern and eastern oceans supposed to be proportionally at a smaller distance.

The first geographical system which can deserve the name is that of Herodotus. In the narrative of this father of history, is found a pretty full description of all those regions of the globe which were then known; and the accuracy of his reports, after having once appeared somewhat problematical, has risen in estimation in proportion to the more extended discoveries of modern times. To him, as to other ancients, who sought to explore the interior of Africa, the Nile formed always the leading object and guide. The singularity of its phenomena, the mysterious grandeur of the regions which it traversed, and the unknown fountains whence its long course was derived, caused it always to be viewed with deeper interest than any other object presented by ancient geography. Herodotus shews himself to have known its course higher, probably, than it has been traced by any modern European. From Elephantine, at the southern extremity of Egypt, to Meroe, the capital of Ethiopia, was a journey of fifty-two days, and from thence an equal distance to the country of *Automoles* or Exiles; making in all a hundred and four days' journey. The precise point is difficult to fix; but the belief that this great river came from the

west, seems clearly to point it out as the true Nile, or Bahr-el-Abiad of the moderns. Proceeding westward from Egypt, Herodotus * knew with very tolerable precision all the nations who inhabited the coast of the Mediterranean, as far as the Straits. He knew also the line through the Libyan desert, by Ammon (Siwah) and Aegila (Augila) to Fezzan, which Major Rennell has clearly recognized in the country of the Garamantes. From thence a chain of positions seems to carry us to that lofty point of the Atlas, which separates the plains of Morocco from Tafilet. Africa, to a certain depth, was therefore pretty fully explored. His character of its three successive belts; the first fertile and cultivated; the second rude and inhabited by wild beasts; and the third an expanse of sandy desert, is perfectly correct and appropriate. The regions deeper in the interior were known to him only by the very short narrative of the excursion of the Nasamones, which we have reported on a former occasion. † There seems considerable presumption, that the river flowing to the eastward, to which these travellers were carried, must have been the Niger. It has been suggested, indeed, that it might rather have been one of those rivers which descend from the Atlas, and water the plains of Tafilet or Sigilmessa. But if, as the localities

* Lib. IV. † Vol. I. p. 30-1.

render probable, the travellers directed their course through Fezzan, they would, on emerging into the desert, be considerably to the south of those rivers, and to direct their course northwards, would have been in direct contradiction to their original object. Their travelling westward puts Bornou out of the question; so that, though the distance be somewhat great, I do not well see to what other river their course could carry them, except the Niger.

These data being established, Herodotus, as usual, proceeded to complete his system by arbitrary suppositions. The Nile coming from the west, it appeared very natural to conceive, that the river of the Nasamones might fall into, and form the main branch of that greatest of the streams of Africa. The opinion, in fact, has not been controverted by actual observation; though Major Rennell's learned arguments seem to have left it destitute of all shadow of probability.* It appears, however, by the testimony of recent travellers, † that the same belief, founded on very nearly the same data, is still prevalent in Northern Africa.

Herodotus evidently considered Africa as surrounded on all sides by the sea, unless at the isthmus of Suez or the Nile. When, however, he states

* Geographical System of Herodotus.

† Jackson, Horneman.

Arabia * as the country in the world which extends farthest to the south, he manifestly betrays his very inadequate conceptions, as to the extent, in that direction, of the African continent.

The next system generally adopted in the ancient world was that of Eratosthenes, librarian at Alexandria, during the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. His system is explained to us by Strabo, who adopted it under some modifications; it was also fundamentally that of Mela, Pliny, and generally of the Latin classic writers.

Eratosthenes, like his predecessor, conceived the southern coast of Africa to be washed by the ocean, and also, like him, supposed it to terminate in the north of the equator. It was supposed, that, after passing the Straits, it very soon began to take a direction to the E.S.E. which it followed till it joined the eastern coast near the foot of the Arabian gulf. It was compared to a trapezium, or irregular four-sided figure, of which the Mediterranean coast formed one side, the Nile another, the southern coast the longest side, and the western coast the shortest.† So little were geographers of this school aware of its extent, that Pliny pronounces it to be the least of the three continents, and inferior to Europe. ‡

* Lib. IV. † Strabo, Lib. XVII. princ. ‡ Lib. VI. 33.

Another hypothesis, eminently characteristic of this school, was probably suggested by African phenomena. This was the existence of an uninhabitable torrid zone. To those who saw this continent, even north of the tropic, spread into an expanse of burning sand, which reflected a heat scarcely compatible with animal life, it naturally appeared that an exposure to the sun's still more powerful influence must be inevitably fatal. The borders of the desert would probably have been fixed as the point, beyond which life could not pass. But the long course of the Nile, and the celebrated kingdom of Ethiopia, proved the necessity of looking still higher. Upon the Nile, therefore, they measured the habitable world of Africa, and fixed its limits at the highest known point to which that river had been ascended. This is assigned about three thousand stadia (three or four hundred miles) beyond Meroe,* which does not give the fifty-two days' sail of Herodotus, so that it would appear as if the Nile had been traced to a higher point in his time, than in that of Eratosthenes. The latter, however, shews himself intimately acquainted with the details of its early course; its reception, on the eastern side, of two great rivers arising from lakes, and called the Astaboras and the Astapus, of which the latter flows from lakes

* Lib. II. p. 65. (ed. Casaubon.)

in the south, is swelled to a great height by the summer rains, and forms then almost the main body of the Nile. He describes also the bend which it makes in its passage through Nubia. The source of this great stream being conceived to lie in these regions rendered inaccessible by extreme heat, was considered as beyond the reach of discovery. The idea, however, of its coming from the west still prevailed; and Strabo mentions a report of its flowing from the remote boundary of Mauritania. This idea is followed at greater length by Mela and Pliny, whose speculations on the subject will find a place in the following chapter.

Equal in fame with the geographical school of Eratosthenes, was that of Ptolemy, who did not, however, flourish till the second century of the Christian era. This school displays a great accession of actual knowledge with regard to all the remote quarters of the world; but this, in many instances, was not accompanied with sounder views as to those parts which lay still beyond the sphere of observation. It was ascertained, that the bounding ocean of Asia did not exist at the point fixed by Eratosthenes; hence it was rashly inferred, that Asia was not bounded by an ocean, but stretched on every side into an expanse of unknown continent. The enterprise of the Alexandrian merchants made them acquainted also with a large ex-

tent of the eastern coast of Africa, the farthest explored portion of which took an easterly direction. This direction was hypothetically extended, till it was made to join the eastern extremity of Asia. Thus the Indian, or Erythrean sea, was enclosed as in a vast basin; and in Africa, as in Asia, an expanse of *Terra Incognita* became on every side the limit of the known world. This school, however, shook off entirely the previous belief of an uninhabitable zone. Ptolemy gives numerous positions under and beyond the equator, and even approaching to the southern tropic. Admitting that many, or all of them, are extended too far to the south, this does not the less indicate his own conviction, that the region immediately under the line could be passed through and inhabited.

Ptolemy appears to have been the first who formed a correct idea of the whole course of the Nile. He throws up entirely its western derivation, and assigns to its fountains their proper place in the vast range of the Mountains of the Moon. He represents also, like Eratosthenes, the rivers Astapus and Astaboras, (the modern Bahr-el-Azrek and Tacazze), as falling into it from the east, and only errs in making them, by their junction, form Meroe into an island. Westward from the Nile, he describes the vast range of Libya Interior, watered by the great rivers Gir and Niger. It has been generally understood, that this tract com-

prised the modern Nigritia; that the Niger was the great river so well known in Europe under this name, though it is not so designated in any part of Africa; and that the Gir is the river of Bornou. M. Gosselin,* however, and some other French geographers, have recently maintained that the tract of Nigritia was wholly unknown to Ptolemy; that the countries and rivers of his Libya Interior were merely those of the tract lying to the south of Atlas, known by the name of the Bled-el-Jereede. Paradoxical as this opinion may at first sight appear, I do not apprehend that it can be wholly rejected. The Gir, in particular, has so many points of relation with the combined streams of the Adjidi and Blanco, that it seems impossible not to recognise some measure of identity. 1. The Gir rises on the opposite side of the same chain of mountains which gives rise to the Bagrada, the modern Mejerdah; so does the Adjidi; but the rivers of Interior Africa are at an immense distance. 2. If the rivers of Interior Libya be not the rivers of the Bled-el-Jereede, then these last rivers must have been wholly unknown to Ptolemy, which is very improbable. 3. The two northern branches of the Gir bear a strong resemblance to the combined streams of the Adjidi and Blanco. We may add, that the name Gir is native in this part of Africa, and is applied to a river of Sigilmessa; also that

* Geographie des Anciens, Vol. IV.

the name of Libya suggests the region south of the Atlas, much more than the depths of the interior, which were always designated by the appellation of Ethiopia.

While it seems impossible to resist the force of these arguments, there are other circumstances in Ptolemy's description, which would lead us to look in Nigritia for the country which he here describes. The Nuba Palus is a name belonging to quite a different part of the continent, from that watered by the Adjidi. Mount Mandrus, as the western termination of the Niger, suggests in the strongest manner the territory of Manding. Panagra agrees almost equally with Wangara, and Caphas with Kaffaba. The description, both by Ptolemy and Agathemerus,* of the Niger and Gir, as μεγιστοι ποταμοι, rivers of the greatest magnitude, and the placing them on a level with the Nile, agrees very ill with any streams which descend from the Atlas. The same may be said of the direction of the stream of the Niger east and west, while all the rivers of Sigilmessa run from north to south. Finally, unless some communication had been opened in that age with this part of central Africa, it seems difficult to discover how the Roman empire could have been supplied with the precious commodity of gold, which must have been in extensive demand, and of which no peculiar want seems to have been felt. The Periplus† proves it to have been obtained

* Geog. Græc. Minor. II. 49. † Ib. I. 4, 10, 31.

neither in the Red Sea, nor in any of the ports of Africa situated on the ocean; while in India it was so far from being an object of import, that *money* is stated as a copious import from Europe. There does not seem, therefore, to have been any quarter, besides the golden streams of Wangara and Manding, from which an adequate supply of this precious metal could have been poured into the empire.

We thus find circumstances, which seem to make it impossible to place the Libya Interior of Ptolemy elsewhere than in the Bled-el Jereede; and others, nearly as strong, fixing it in central Africa. How shall this discrepancy be reconciled? If the Egyptian traders, in the time of Ptolemy, really penetrated to the banks of the Niger, it must have been westward from the Nile, by the way of Darfûr and Begherme. They thus reached that destination without having encountered any portion of the great African desert; the extent of which, it is evident, was wholly unknown to Ptolemy. His informants could furnish no astronomical observations, nor accurate data of any kind, by which to fix the position of the countries through which they travelled. In such cases, the ancient geographers, to gratify the natural love of completeness, had recourse often to very arbitrary delineations. Instances have occurred, and will again occur, in which very remote objects were brought into con-

tact. It appears to me then that Ptolemy has linked together the geographical features of central and northern Africa; that in the Gir, he linked the head of the Adjidi to the head of the Misselad; and, though no part of the Niger can be referred to the north, its tributaries from that quarter are probably the rivers of Sigilmissa, hypothetically united to it. I doubt, however, if the Daradus and Stachir can be viewed as the Gambia and Senegal. Every remote space actually traversed is exaggerated, instead of being so remarkably diminished, as, in the present instance, that between Mount Mandrus and the sea. Besides, from the Fortunate Islands, or Canaries, being placed opposite to these rivers, it seems clear, however far Carthaginian discovery may have penetrated, that Ptolemy's knowledge of the western coast expired on the borders of the desert. It appears, therefore, that he knew nothing beyond the Niger in central Africa, which, in his system, locks in with the southern extremity of the Atlas; the rivers flowing from which are thus brought into almost the immediate vicinity of the Niger.

Ptolemy had finally to dispose of the route of three months, from the country of the Garamantes, and of four months from the Leptis Magna, made by Flaccus and Maternus into the country of the Ethiopians.* The suspicion and dissatisfaction which he shews on the subject of their statements, con-

* Lib. I. 8.

curs to prove the inadequate idea which he entertained of the breadth of the desert which they must have traversed. Such marches must evidently have carried them far beyond the limits of Libya Interior, placed as it was by him almost in contact with Northern Africa. He, therefore, places his Ethiopia Interior much farther south, beyond the equator, nearly in the latitude of Raptum; although there is no reason to suppose that the expeditions in question could have passed the Niger, if they even arrived on its shores.

The decline of the Roman empire was followed by the irruption of a new power, which changed entirely the aspect of this continent. The descendants of Mahomet spread their empire as far as the ocean, and established one of its grand seats in Northern Africa. This remarkable people, accustomed in their native seats to all the modes of carrying on trade over-land, and through deserts, were well calculated to overcome the obstacles, which nature here presented, on a still greater scale. Their caravans soon formed routes across the wide expanse of the African desert; the banks of the Niger were not only explored, but colonized, and the whole tract of central Africa, so far as known, became subject to Mahometan masters. The geographers, therefore, who arose during the flourishing era of Arabian science, had

very ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with this part of the continent. They have left, accordingly, fuller descriptions than the ancients of the known parts, and have adopted, with regard to the unknown, an entirely different train of hypotheses. While Herodotus, Mela, and Pliny, made the central river of Africa run towards the east, and fall into the Nile, the Arabians, on the contrary, supposed it to flow westward from a common source with that river. To both they applied the common name of Nile; one being the Nile of Egypt, and the other the Nile of the Negroes. Gana, situated upon the Nile of the Negroes, nearly midway between its point of separation from that of Egypt and its termination, was the metropolis of all the Mahometan kingdoms, the main channel of communication with Northern Africa, and, consequently, the grand source from which information was drawn. At the distance of forty days' journey westward from Gana, this river fell into the sea, and near its mouth was Ulil, resorted to by all the states along the Nile for a supply of salt. If the position of Ulil could be fixed, it would afford a key to the whole system of Arabian geography; but the investigation is attended with considerable difficulty. The distances of forty days from Gana, and of one month from Agades, seem to place totally out of the question the idea of its being situated on the ocean;

unless we suppose their measures erroneous in an enormous degree, and of which there is no other instance. The terms used by Edrisi render it possible that, by sea, he might merely mean an inland lake. Yet, from the general scope of his work, I rather incline to suspect that he mistook the lake for the sea, and some point on its opposite shore for an island. It appears however, to have been better understood by subsequent geographers. Thus Ibn-al-Vardi describes Ulil as a great city, situated on the shore of the *Bahr*, (sea or lake.) * Probably the information of subsequent travellers, who had performed the circuit of the lake, shewed him the error of Edrisi in mistaking it for the sea. A still later geographer (Scheabed-din) says expressly that the branch of the Nile which flows through Djenawa (Gana), does not reach the sea.† Major Rennell has traced the following etymology: Ulil, Oulili, Oualet, Walet. If Walet, or any part of its territory, be Ulil, then the sea of Edrisi could scarcely be any thing else than the Dibbie. His measures, however, seem hardly to extend so far, but to agree better with another lake to the east of Tombuctoo; the existence of which has been reported by recent travellers. Additional information, it is to be hoped, may soon be obtained, which will determine this curious point.

* Notices des Manuscrits du Roi, II. 35. † Ib. II. 156.

To the east of Gana, Wangara rests entirely upon the authority of the Arabians. Their description of Cauga agrees very well with the notices of Horneman and Browne, so ably combined by Major Rennell. * But the space which fills up the interval between Cauga and the Nile, is involved in considerable obscurity; nor does it appear to me that it has been very correctly understood by modern geographers.

Among all the states in this part of Africa, Kuku is represented, by the Arabian writers, to have held a high pre-eminence; nor does any other appear to have rivalled it in power and splendour. According to our present maps, Kuku occupies a tract quite unexplored by modern travellers, between the north of Bornou and the part of Nubia which borders on Egypt. In this case, it would remain a very important discovery yet to be made. The position, however, thus assigned to it, seems to me wholly incompatible with the data of Edrisi, which are as follow:—From Gana to Cauga, gives nearly a month and a half's journey east; from Cauga to Kuku, twenty days' north; from Kuku to Gana, a month and a half. The triangle is thus completed; and, in attempting its construction, it will appear that Kuku is both placed too far north, and also, that, instead of being north-east

* Illustrations of Horneman, ch. 3.

from Cauga, it ought to have a certain declination to the westward. In short, it will fall very precisely upon the position of the modern capital of Bornou. That Kuku is Bornou, is further rendered probable by the character of extraordinary magnitude * ascribed to both, much more than to any other city in this part of Africa. Dar Cooka is mentioned by Browne as a country near Cauga or Fittri; and it is not difficult to suppose, that, at the period in question, the name may have had a greater extension.

With regard to the interval between Kuku and the Nile, the following appear to be all the data afforded:

Kuku to Tamalma, east, 12 days' journey.
Tamalma to Matthan, 12 days.
Matthan to Angimi, 8 days.
Angimi to Zaghara, 6 days.
Zaghara to Matthan, 8 days.
Matthan to Tagua, 13 days.
Tagua adjoins to Nuba.

I must own, that I have in vain attempted to disentangle this labyrinth of distances without bearings. Zagara (*Zagua*, Abulfeda) seems to be the modern Zeghawa, a dependency of Darfûr.

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* Celeberrima et magnitudine præstans,—*Edrisi*. The population of Bornou is described as a countless multitude.—Association, (1790,) p. 141.

Angimi (Begama of Ibn-al-Vardi) may be considered the modern Begarmee, or Begherme. Further than this I doubt if any of the above positions could be fixed with much confidence.

During the flourishing era of Arabian science, Europe was sunk in darkness and lethargy; and its inhabitants, far from knowing or studying the geography of the remote parts of the world, were ignorant probably of that of the province immediately adjoining to them. About the end of the fifteenth century, however, under the patronage of the Portuguese princes, a series of extraordinary exertions were made, which soon raised Europe to a high pre-eminence over the other parts of the globe. Although India was to the Portuguese the grand theatre of prowess and enterprise, yet in their route thither, they also explored and settled a large portion of Africa; and the geography of that continent, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was constructed almost entirely from the materials which they furnished. This people penetrated into the interior chiefly by the side of Congo on the west, and Abyssinia on the east, and, falling into the usual error of exaggeration, they extended these two countries in such a manner, as to fill nearly the whole continent, and to hide entirely from their view that immense space, which remained still unknown. The accompanying sketch

exhibits the manner in which central Africa is delineated by all geographers, from Ortelius to Sanson inclusive, and down to the time of Delisle and D'Anville.* Sanson's map of 1696 does not exhibit the smallest improvement over the earliest delineations. The exaggeration of half-known distances, and the annihilation of the unknown interval between distant objects, combined in leading to these remarkable errors. Abyssinia, above all, was extended in the most extraordinary manner, being made to reach as far as the southern frontier of Congo and Monomopata. Here was placed the great lake Zaire or Zembre, from which was supposed to flow not only the Nile, but the Congo, and, according to some, though not universally, the Cuama or Zambezi. That this lake was at bottom the Dembea, appears from the Abyssinian provinces of Gojam, Damut, Bagamidri, (Begemder,) and the Cafates, (Efat,) being ranged around it. The name Zaire is evidently derived from the river of Congo; and Zembre, which has no authentic origin, appears to be a transition-step from Zaire to Dembea, forming a sort of alliance between two names which, in themselves, are perfectly dissimilar. In all the early delinea-

* See the maps in Ortelius's Theatre of the World,—in Dapper's Description of Africa,—in Purchas, Vol. I. and II. —and all Sanson's maps.

tions of newly discovered countries, exaggeration is a prominent feature; but I know of no instance in which it has taken place to so extravagant a degree. From Massuah, to the southern extremity of the lake of Dembea, the actual distance does not exceed four hundred miles; in the maps alluded to, it scarcely falls short of two thousand. It is difficult to account for so enormous an error in a country which was traversed, at different times, by so considerable a number of missionaries. The only cause which it seems possible to assign is, that, as they followed a very irregular and winding course, for the purpose of visiting, sometimes their own scattered establishments, sometimes the court of the king or principal lords, their unskilfulness might lead them to extend, in a straight line, the whole of this devious tract; which, combined with the natural propensity to magnify their own deeds, might lead to this enormous amplification. The Nile was also made to issue from the northern side of the lake, so that all the windings of its semicircular sweep round Gojam, were extended in a straight line from south to north. This immense extension of Abyssinia brought it to the frontier of Congo, without the latter making a step to meet it. The magnitude of Congo, in fact, is scarcely at all exaggerated; a very rare case in such circumstances, and which, perhaps, could only have happened, because geographers found the interior so blocked up

by Abyssinia, that they had not space in which to exaggerate. The river Congo, in particular, by being derived from this much misplaced site of the Dembea, had a course assigned to it, totally inadequate to their own magnificent descriptions of its magnitude.

In regard to the modern geography of Western Africa, as it hinges almost entirely upon the course of the Niger, which forms the subject of the following chapter, it will be more convenient to reserve, till then, our observations upon that subject.

The first half of the eighteenth century was the era of a signal improvement in the science of geography. For this we are mainly indebted to France, and to the very liberal patronage which its administration extended to the cultivation of this science. No one who compares the maps of Delisle and D'Anville, with the materials then published, can doubt the excellent means of information with which they must have been supplied, both by government and by private individuals. Under their hands, the geography of Africa, in particular, assumed an entirely new aspect.

Delisle began his labours with the commencement of the century. In 1700, he published his map of the world, stated to be drawn up from observations made by the members of the Academy of Sciences. It exhibits a signal reform in African geography.

The frontier of Abyssinia was brought from ten degrees south of the line, to ten degrees north; and this immense change placed it at once in its true position. The source of the Bahr-el-Azrek, and all the details of its early course, are given with very great precision. This river, however, is still represented as *the Nile*, while the Abiad, confounded with the Maleg, appears as a much inferior stream. This delineation is preserved in all his subsequent maps.

While, however, Delisle had made this remarkable correction upon the position of Abyssinia, he had not lost that abhorrence of a *vacuum* which had ever been prevalent in the minds of geographers. He could not reconcile himself to acknowledge his ignorance, as to the contents of the space out of which he had withdrawn Abyssinia. He filled it up, by extending, far eastward, the frontier of Congo. In particular, the large branch of the Congo, which flows from south to north, is made by him to flow from east to west, and thereby reaches across more than half the continent. All the other features being stretched in like manner, the vacant space was filled up, and the dreaded appearance of a void effectually covered.

In consequence of these erroneous views, Delisle lost on one side a part of what he had gained on the other. It was D'Anville who first "laid the "axe to the root of the tree." In his map, (1731,)

prefixed to Labat's *Ethiopie Occidentale*, he boldly exposed to the world the vast extent of that *Terra Incognita*, which occupies the whole interior of this part of Africa. The public having recognised the correctness and fairness of this proceeding, geographers were no longer afraid to leave void those spaces which science afforded no materials for filling. In Abyssinia also, although his predecessor had done much, D'Anville found some important additions to make. On a diligent comparison of ancient and modern materials, he ascertained, that the river, which all modern geographers had considered as the Nile, was not the Nile of the ancients; that it was merely the tributary to a larger stream, which alone had been, and ought to be, regarded as the river of Egypt. Subsequent observation has fully confirmed this discovery.

In Western Africa, the reform effected by these two great geographers was equally important; but for reasons already assigned, it will be more convenient to reserve the consideration of them till the following chapter.

From this time, the investigation of African geography was conducted upon sound principles, and proceeded in a regular train. There remained only the inevitable evil of imperfect knowledge; but this was no longer combined with systematic error; it was not that hopeless ignorance which is unconscious of itself. It has prompted to vast

exertions for the extension of discovery in this part of the world. In Major Rennell too, the materials thus collected have happily found an illustrator, who, in the precision of his data, and the accuracy with which he applies them, is scarcely equalled by the most illustrious of his predecessors. His maps of Africa, which form the basis of the present geography of that continent, are rendered doubly valuable by the copious and instructive manner in which he unfolds the principles upon which they are constructed.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THEORIES RESPECTING THE COURSE AND TERMINATION OF THE NIGER.

Herodotus.—Strabo, Pliny, and Mela.—The Arabians.—Leo and the Portuguese.—Delisle and D'Anville.—Moore.—Major Rennell.—Reichard.—The Congo Hypothesis.—Another.—The Mar Zarah.

THE course and termination of this celebrated stream is now the most interesting problem which remains to be solved, not only in Africa, but in any other portion of the globe. Hoping still, notwithstanding one failure, that this great discovery may not be far distant, it is not proposed to enter into the elaborate illustration of any one view of the subject:—but rather to exhibit the succession of reports and opinions, which, from the earliest ages, has prevailed among curious inquirers relative to the course of these celebrated waters. Whatever may be the present opinion of the reader, or the final result of the inquiry, this will, it is conceived, form an interesting chapter in the history of human speculation.

To the earlier geographers, the Nile, and the mystery of its distant springs, formed the leading object of curiosity and inquiry. It was with reference to it only, that the western waters were brought into view. We have already seen the opinion of Herodotus, that the great river, seen by the Nasamonians, rolling from west to east through the country of the Ethiopians, was the remote head of the Nile. He endeavours to support this opinion by a very ill founded analogy with the Danube, alleging that, in the same manner as that river divides Europe, the Nile ought to divide Africa. Upon the whole, there seems nothing to add to what was observed on this subject in the preceding chapter.

Strabo did not enter deep into this speculation. The belief that the early course of the Nile was directed through the uninhabitable torrid zone, appeared to place it altogether beyond the reach of mortal discovery. He merely mentions, without any discussion, as an opinion entertained by some, that the Nile rose at a spot not far removed from the extremity of Mauritania. This idea is touched upon at much greater length by Pliny and Mela. Pliny had obtained notions, extensive probably, though confused, relative to this part of the world, from the conversation of Roman generals who had penetrated into the desert, and from the works or traditionary information of Juba, king of Maurita-

nia, a prince more eminent for his learning than his high rank. Pliny mentions, * that a Roman commander, Suetonius Paulinus, whom he had himself seen, reported himself to have crossed the Western Atlas, which he described as modern travellers have done, as of stupendous height, and covered with snow during the whole year. Beyond, through deserts of black dust, which, even in the depth of winter, were uninhabitable by the heat, he came to the river which is called Niger. There is nothing in this passage to suggest the immense space which must have been traversed after passing the Atlas, in order to arrive at the river of Soudan. This may give rise to the doubt, whether the river, supposed by *him*, at least, to be the Niger, might not rather be one of the streams of Tafilet. On the other hand, the deserts of sand, and the intensity of the heat, do not agree with the idea which we have of the Country of Dates. Pliny, however, enters into much greater detail in that extraordinary passage, where he traces the origin of the Nile, and its various transformations. † First, he informs us, that it springs from a mountain in Lower Mauritania, and issues out of a stagnant lake, called Nilis. Indignant, however, at running through rugged and sandy tracts, it hides itself un-

* Hist. i. † Ib. V. 9.

der ground for several days, after which it issues anew from another lake in Mauritania Caesariensis. Finding itself again among sands, it plunges a second time beneath them, and continues hid during the whole extent of a desert space of twenty days' journey. On reaching the country of the Ethiopians, it again emerges, and, as Ptolemy supposes, from the fountain Nigris; when, continuing to flow, it divides the Africans from the Ethiopians. In a subsequent part of its course, it assumes the name of Astapus, evidently the river of Nubia. In this succession of rivers, so fancifully united to form one Nile, it seems clear, that the two first are streams of the Bled-el-Jereede; but in respect to the other, situated on the other side of an immense desert, and in the country of the Ethiopians, whom it separates from the Africans, there seem fair grounds for believing it to be the Niger itself. We then find Pliny to be the strenuous advocate for the ancient system, by which the Nile and the Niger were viewed merely as successive portions of the same great river.

Mela leans to the same opinion.* He describes very distinctly, to the south of Mauritania, the great desert, and beyond it the country of the Ethiopians. There rises the river Nuchul, on which he makes the striking remark, that, "while all others direct their course towards the ocean, this one flows towards the east, and the centre of the

* Lib. III. 9.

continent; and whither it goes is quite uncertain. It would be difficult to express, in more accurate terms, the actual state of our knowledge in respect to the Niger. Mela mentions then as a plausible conjecture, that this river may end in being the Nile; but he positively rejects the hypothesis of its sinking under ground, very reasonably ascribing such a report to the long tract of unknown territory through which it flows, and where, not being seen, it is supposed not to exist.

The Roman writers appear, from the sources above mentioned, to have derived somewhat more extended ideas with regard to Western Africa, than were attained by the Greeks. Ptolemy, however, generally speaking, obtained a much more correct view of the courses of the African rivers, than any of his predecessors. He, first among the ancients, rejects wholly the idea of the identity of the Nile and Niger, lays down the sources of the former in their true position, and exhibits the latter as a distinct and separate stream. If we are asked, however, in what direction he represents it as flowing, the question is exceedingly difficult to answer. The following extract includes all he communicates on the subject. After remarking, that "in the interior flow mighty rivers, the Gir and Niger," he proceeds to describe the latter by his usual mathematical mode of enumeration.

"And the Niger, which joins together the mountains Mandrus and Thala. It also forms the

lake of Nigritia, (Nigrites Palus,) which lies in lat. 15°, long. 18°.

"And has formed two derivations* to the north, viz. to the mountains Sagapola and Usurgala—and one to the east upon the lake of Libya, (Libya Palus,) which lies in lat. 35°, long. 16° 30′."

Never, perhaps, has a more singular and unappropriate description been given of a river, than this of its joining two mountains together. Ptolemy seems evidently to have considered merely the geometrical line described by the river course across Africa, without viewing it as a body in motion. His description can be correct only on one supposition; that of two rivers meeting in a common receptacle. With regard to the direction of the streams, the only ground on which an inference can be made, seems to be the following. There is no lake or other receptacle in the whole line of stream, except that of Nigritia, (Nigrites Palus,) for the Libya Palus is represented as situated in one of its tributaries. As it is placed very near the western extremity, the greater portion, in order to find in it a receptacle, must flow *westward*. This is corroborated by the expression that the Niger forms

* Ἐκτροποι, divertigia. It deserves notice, that this term, though it seems to convey an opposite idea, has merely the common signification of a tributary stream. Thus (Lib. IV. c. 16.) we have "divertigium *ad* Emodos montes. Fons vero "*in* ils," and similar instances in the same and other chapters.

(ποιει) the Nigrites Palus. The opposite branch, flowing into it from the west, must in this view be very much underrated; which may be easily accounted for, from its remote situation, and the line of communication by which Ptolemy obtained his knowledge of this part of Africa.

The next geographical system was that of the Arabians, in whose opinion, with regard to the course of this river, there is nothing dubious or equivocal. They all identify it with the Nile, but only in its source and earliest course, borrowed apparently from Ptolemy. But they conceive that at a particular point, this primary Nile separates into two branches, or Niles; of which one, the Nile of Egypt, flows northward through Nubia, and falls into the Mediterranean; the other, the Nile of the Negroes, takes its course westward, and traverses the vast range of central Africa. According to Abulfeda and Edrisi, the most eminent Arabian geographers, it continues to flow till it is received into the Atlantic, or "Sea of Dark-"ness," as they term their supposed circumambient ocean. This system, to the extent in which it has been applied, is no doubt quite erroneous. But as Gana was the capital of the Arabian settlements, and the centre of their communications, it may deserve consideration whether there do not arise a probability that, *at Gana*, the course of the

river was such as these writers have universally described it to be. A more recent writer, and a native of Western Africa, (Scheabeddin,) states, that this branch does *not* reach the sea. The receptacle is not specified, but a lake must necessarily be supposed. We shall find occasion hereafter to touch again upon this subject.

The information and ideas of European geographers during the sixteenth century, were derived from two sources; the description of Africa by Leo Africanus, and the early settlements of the Portuguese on the western coast. Leo agrees with the Arabians in assigning a western course to the Niger, but he does not, like them, derive it from the Nile. It takes its rise, according to him, from a lake situated to the south of Bornou, probably the lake of Cauga, and thence flows westward till it reaches the ocean. Leo, indeed, had heard it asserted, at Tombuctoo, that it rose in a mountain, flowed eastward, and fell into a lake; but this he asserts to be contradicted by his own actual observation of the navigation from Tombuctoo to Ginea (Jinnie). Upon this extraordinary statement, an opportunity will occur of making some farther remarks, at the close of the chapter.

The above observations of Leo entirely concurred with those which the Portuguese them-

selves had an opportunity of making. The coast of Western Africa presented to them a succession of great rivers, all running westward, and falling into the ocean. None of these seemed alone entitled to the honour of forming a termination to the great central stream; the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Grande, were therefore viewed in general as the Deltaic estuaries, by which it poured its waters into the ocean. Even the Faleme was supposed to be a branch first separating from, and then uniting with the main trunk. On viewing these maps, it is impossible not to be struck with the proximity of Tombuctoo to the sea, from which it is placed at not much above a third of its real distance, and so as not to extend beyond the actual course of the Senegal. Combining this circumstance with the narration of De Barros, the question may arise, what Tombuctoo it was, which lay adjacent to Manding, which was liable to be overrun by an invasion from Foota Jallo, and to which the Portuguese sent repeated embassies, without learning the existence of Bambarra, or of the Niger, as a separate stream from the Senegal?* We have already seen how early the first discoverers began to consider, as Tombuctoo, every town which bore the slightest resemblance to it in name and situation. I strongly suspect, therefore, that this Portuguese Tombuctoo was some town si-

* See above, Book I. Chap. I.

tuated on the Upper Senegal, perhaps Tamboucanee, mentioned by Saugnier as a great mart for slaves and gold. A different conclusion might indeed be suggested by the mention of Zimbala, which, from name and situation, can scarcely be any other than the Jinbala of Park. But it seems not difficult to conceive, that reports applicable to the real, might come mixed with those of the imaginary Tombuctoo, especially as the former was known, not through this channel only, but also through that of the Barbary traders.

In all these maps, a prominent feature consists in a lake called Guardia or Sigesmes, with an island in the centre, and situated at some distance to the east of Tombuctoo. I have never been able to meet with any description of this lake, or any notice of the authority upon which it is laid down; nor does it seem very easy to determine whether it be the Dibbie, or another lake lying really to the eastward of Tombuctoo.

The French geographers, Delisle and D'Anville, employed very peculiar diligence in improving the geography of this part of Africa. It is true, that in Delisle's map of the world, (1700,) and in his map of Nigritia, (1707,) he assigns to the Niger the same long course, from east to west, as his predecessors had done. He makes it, however, enter the sea only by the channel of the Senegal. The rivers Gambia and Grande he represents

truncated, and carried up only as high as they had been ascended by Europeans. He also removes Tombuctoo eastward to its true distance from the sea. He retains the lake of Guardia, and endeavours to form a most extraordinary alliance between it and the system of the Arabian geographers. He makes it stand for all the lakes described by them in the different parts of Nigritia. On the east side of it he places the city of Gana, and round it, all the cities of Wangara, which became thus west of Gana, instead of several hundred miles east. But in the map of the world, on a polar projection, published in 1714, though composed with a different object, he alters entirely his construction of this part of Africa. The Niger and Senegal are there represented as separate rivers; are made to arise from two lakes near to each other, and to flow, the one east and the other west. The lake of Guardia is obliterated, and the eastern part of Nigritia delineated according to the data of Edrisi.

This reform was followed up by D'Anville, who, in 1755, communicated to the French Academy a treatise "On the Rivers in the Interior of Africa."* Here, instead of the single stream of the Niger rolling across nearly the whole breadth of Africa, he distinguishes three rivers. 1*st*, The Senegal,

* Academie des Inscriptions, Vol. XXVI.

flowing westward, and falling into the ocean. *2d*, The Niger, flowing eastward, and terminating, as he supposes, at the lake of Reghebil in Wangara. *3d*, Another river, still farther east, and flowing in the opposite direction to the Niger. Although I incline to think D'Anville radically correct as to the existence of this last river, yet he runs into a manifest error, when he makes it at once the Gir of Ptolemy, the river of Bornou, and the Nile of the Negroes of Edrisi. The last is clearly the same river as the Niger, upon which, in fact, he himself has placed all the positions which Edrisi placed on the Nile of the Negroes. The main point, however, is the separation of the Senegal and Niger, and the eastern course of the latter. Excellent, certainly, must have been the information upon which Delisle and D'Anville made this construction, since Labat, who collected all the narratives of travellers in this part of Africa, declares himself unable to determine from what sources it was drawn. In the detail, however, a capital error was committed. The point of separation was made at the lake Dibbie, called by them Maberia, which, for this purpose, was split into two lakes, from one of which flowed the Niger eastward, and from the other the Senegal westward. The consequence is, that all that part of the Niger which flows through Bambarra, which was travelled by Park, or accurately known to Europeans,

was added to the Senegal, and, like it, made to flow westward. This error was never discovered till the journey of Park.

These discoveries were generally adopted by geographers of the first rank, and passed into all the good maps of Africa. Yet so slow is the progress of knowledge, that in 1756, Adanson, though a man of science, and in 1767, Demanet, who had resided for some years at Senegal, adhere to the old hypothesis, use indiscriminately the terms Senegal and Niger, and seem unconscious that any one had ever represented them as different streams. Golberry, even after the performance of Park's journey, affects to consider the point as not perfectly ascertained. The truth is, that all who placed their ambition in the extension of these settlements, leaned to this hypothesis, which alone afforded the prospect of raising them to the first rank among colonial establishments. Golberry also makes no secret of his feeling of national jealousy, that the English should have been the first to make so important a discovery, which would have fallen so much more naturally to the share of his own countrymen, had they availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by their settlement on the Senegal.

The English geographers were far from possessing, at this period, the same intelligence and activity as those of France. The only person who

seems to have taken any deep interest in the present question, was Francis Moore, the traveller. He had adopted, with enthusiastic zeal, the derivation of the Niger from the extremities of Africa, while, as an Englishman, he held the Gambia, the seat of the English settlements, to be the main channel by which it entered the ocean. Upon this river, he finds all the principal positions mentioned by Edrisi. Ulil is Joally, an island at the mouth of the river, whence its banks, it seems, are actually supplied with salt. Sala is Bur-salum, and Gana is Yani. Unfortunately there is no name which can be tortured into Wangara; but this might arise from Europeans not having penetrated so high. These speculations were much discomposed by the arrival of Captain Stibbs, from his voyage to the upper parts of the Gambia. This personage reported, that "its original, or head, is nothing near "so far in the country as by the geographers has "been represented; nor does it arise from any "other lake, nor hath it a communication with "any other river;—that the natives say the Gam-"bia comes from near the gold mines, twelve days' "journey from Barraconda, and that there fowls "walk over it." He admitted, indeed, "that the "Gambia is a river of the longest course of any "that falls into the Atlantic Ocean, and that it is "the Niger, *if any*." "But it seems," says Moore, "as if he thought, there was no Niger at

"all." Upon this ground, he endeavours to overwhelm him, by the testimonies of Edrisi, Leo Africanus, Ludolphus, Labat, and other learned writers. Stibbs, however, though he did not presume to compare himself, as to learning, with those great personages, continued not the less to assert the plain facts which he had seen with his own eyes; so that Moore was left still in a very serious perplexity.

In this state of fluctuation the question remained, till the truly important discoveries of Park gave a new face to African geography. This illustrious traveller finally ascertained, that the Niger was entirely distinct from any of the rivers which fell into the Atlantic; that it flowed eastward into the centre of the continent; and that to it belonged several hundred miles of the course which the best modern geographers had assigned to the Senegal. Upon these data, Major Rennell founded his theory of its course. It had been traced, indeed, by Park, only about 300 miles from its source; but concurrent testimonies, ancient and modern, established the existence of a continued stream, upwards of 1000 miles farther, to the extremity of Wangara. That country is described by the Arabian geographers as entirely surrounded and intersected by branches of the Niger, (Nile of the Negroes;) as containing, at least, two lakes, and is entirely overflowed during the rainy season. Major Rennell, therefore, very plausibly inferred,

that Wangara was the Delta of the Niger; that its waters, spread out by the separation of its branches, by inundation, and by the formation of lakes, might, under the burning rays of a tropical sun, be completely evaporated.

This view of the subject, supported by the learning and ingenuity of Major Rennell, became, for a long time, the orthodox creed with regard to Africa. M. Reichard, of Weimar, advanced another hypothesis; according to which, the stream passed through Wangara, and directing its course to the south-west, poured itself into the Gulf of Benin, by a succession of large estuaries, of which the mouths only are known to us. This can rank only as a mere conjecture, which it may be difficult to disprove, but which is supported by no evidence. The author, indeed, endeavours to shew, by a comparative calculation of the waters poured into Wangara, and of the extent of its lakes, that the former cannot be disposed of by mere evaporation from the latter. Without considering all the circumstances which must render such an estimate precarious, we may observe, that he brings into Wangara the great western rivers of the Misselad and Wed-el-Gazel, not only without any proof, but contrary to all the evidence that exists. His calculation from the lakes of Wangara, too, is built entirely upon the space which they occupy in modern maps. But there is nothing in the Arabian writers (our only authority) which can

give the remotest idea of their magnitude. What he has proceeded upon, is the mere arbitrary delineation of modern geographers, who, having lakes to delineate, were obliged to make them of some size or other. Upon the whole, however, if the Niger must reach the sea, perhaps this is as probable a channel as any. There are certainly a number of large estuaries, which indicate either the Delta of the Niger, or a parallel chain of mountains from which they must issue. In the last case, such a chain, being a prolongation of the great belt of the Mountains of the Moon, would oppose a bar to the passage of any river into the southern regions of Africa.

The next hypothesis is that famous one by which the Niger is identified with the great stream which passes through the kingdom of Congo. The extraordinary magnitude of this last river, —the prodigious mass of waters which it pours into the ocean, whose waves it freshens to the distance of many leagues—its perpetual state of fulness, or rather flood, to which other tropical rivers are incident only during a few months of the year —the occurrence, at two seasons, instead of one, of a perceptible swelling of its waters—these circumstances are supposed to indicate a river, which not only drains a vast extent of country, but is fed by the rains of both the tropics. Both these condi-

tions are fulfilled, by supposing it to be the hitherto unknown termination of the Niger. Thus too, it is said, will the mystery be withdrawn, which now veils the mysterious course of that great central river. No receptacle hitherto discovered, or reported, nothing except a great inland sea, like the Aral or the Caspian, could, it is conceived, contain the waters of the vast stream which flows through Bambarra, swelled, as it must be, by continual accessions during an additional course of more than 1000 miles.

Considering the plausibility of these arguments, and the enthusiastic zeal with which the system had been adopted by our great African traveller, it cannot be wondered, that a general impression arose in its favour. This was greatly aided by the able manner in which it was supported by the two leading critical journals, which, though sometimes differing in other points, agreed entirely in this. That in the Quarterly Review, besides the ability with which it was written, shewed such an intimate acquaintance with the subject, that it could not fail to produce a most powerful impression on the public mind. The writer of this will admit the probability, had he not been prepossessed by other views, he might have been carried along by the current. Happening, however, to study this subject with particular attention, a hypothesis occurred somewhat differing from any now stated; and

however diffident he must feel in advancing any thing new on a subject treated by so many eminent geographers, yet, as the opinion was the result of a somewhat diligent investigation, perhaps he may be indulged in a short exposition of it. *

Although the Niger, in Bambarra, carries with it to the east all the waters of central Africa, it cannot be doubted, that there is a tract on the other side of the continent, where these waters flow in an opposite direction. Without having recourse to ancient, or more doubtful authorities, we find Browne expressly stating, that all the rivers about and beyond Darfûr, were reported to him as flowing to the west and north-west. Some, the Kulla for instance, are so delineated, that they could scarcely continue to flow in that direction without meeting the Niger. That a junction therefore takes place, at some point, of rivers from opposite sides of the continent, can scarcely be doubted. Whether these rivers terminate there, or direct their united streams into the ocean, is a sepa-

* Should any reader feel curious to see this system more fully explained, he may have recourse to the article *Africa* in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, which was contributed by me, at the request of my friend Mr Napier, the very able editor of that publication. The work, being supported by the most eminent men of science in this country, is in very general circulation.

rate question. According to the general opinion, this union takes place in Wangara. There is, however, a considerable weight of testimony which goes to prove, that much farther west, and in passing through the kingdom of Cassina, the direction of the stream is still *westward.* Abulfeda, Edrisi, and all the Arabian writers, without a single exception, are well known to have described their Nile of the Negroes as flowing from *east to west.* Now, as Gana was the centre of their settlements, and the main channel of communication with Northern Africa, it appears very improbable that they should be misinformed as to how the matter stood *there.* Nor is it improbable that their knowledge might terminate with this westward-flowing river, and might never reach the stream visited by Park.

The next testimony is that of the Shereef Imhammed, an eminent native merchant, who crossed and recrossed the Niger at least twice. He stated to Mr Lucas, * that "its rise and termination are "unknown, but its course is *from east to west.*" He adds, that "such is the rapidity with which it "traverses the empire of Cashna, that no vessel "can ascend the stream;" that it is crossed on an ill constructed raft; that its depth is twenty-three or twenty-four feet; and its width "such, "that at the island of Gongoo, where the ferry-

* Proceedings of Association, 1790, 4to.

"men reside, the sound of the loudest voice from "the northern shore is scarcely heard." These particulars, and, above all, the rapidity of the stream, make it scarcely possible that he could be mistaken as to the direction in which it flows; nor does there appear any conceivable motive for mistatement.

From these testimonies, it appeared to me as the most probable supposition, that the long line of river course to which Europeans have applied the Roman name of Niger, (a name not known in Africa,) consists, in fact, of two rivers, flowing, one from the east, and the other from the west, and falling into some common receptacle. It is objected, indeed, that no such receptacle has ever been reported to exist. But the tract between Cassina and Tombuctoo is so entirely unknown, that it might very well contain the feature in question, without such a report having reached Europeans. Moreover, it may be observed, that the most recent travellers actually report the existence of a great lake, or inland sea, in this quarter. Jackson particularly describes an immense lake called the Sea of Soudan, situated about fifteen days' journey to the east of Tombuctoo. Park also heard at Sansanding of a lake, incomparably larger than the Dibbie, at about a month's distance from that place; which would nearly agree with the measure of Jackson. The late traveller, calling himself Ali Bey, saw an African prince and

merchant, who had resided at Tombuctoo, by whom he was assured, that the Nile Abid, in flowing eastward from that city, spread into an inland sea of great extent. A great lake, therefore, in this situation, capable of forming a receptacle for both the streams, which have been supposed to flow from the opposite sides of Africa, appeared not only possible, but supported by very strong and positive testimonies.

Since the above hypothesis was formed, some very striking and unexpected notices have been received from this part of Africa. Adams, as mentioned in our analysis of his narrative, states, that a large river, called the Mar Zahr or Zarah, flows close by Tombuctoo, and, as he apprehends, to the *south-west.* Nothing, indeed, can be less positive than this last averment. M. Dupuis, who saw him first at Mogadore, did not recollect any such assertion; on the contrary, Adams stated to him, "that he "had not taken any particular notice, and that the "river was steady, without any appearance of a "strong current." In London, however, on being strictly interrogated, he stated a prepondérating belief "that it did flow *south-west.* He "spoke, however, with apparently less confidence "of this than of any other point of his narrative." Yet there is, however, a pretty strong concurrence of testimonies in his favour of the river of Tom-

buctoo flowing to the westward. Leo, though perplexed by opposite reports, says positively, in treating of the navigation from Tombuctoo to Jinne, "Noi navigammo scorrendo per l'acqua." Ben Ali, after residing six months at Tombuctoo, stated to the Association 1790, that the river of Tombuctoo flowed *west*. Denon received the same information from an African prince; and Schiek Ibrahim, it is said, from the Arab traders in Nubia. Hence it has been conjectured, that the Mar Zarah is a tributary stream, joining its waters to those of the Niger or Joliba, which certainly flows eastward.* The difficulty which lies in supposing two such great streams running parallel and near, yet in opposite directions to each other, is, in a great measure, obviated by what is next to be noticed.

In our sketch of Riley's narrative, we have already noticed the report received by him from the Arab merchant, Sidi Hamet, and which, for reasons already stated, we are not much disposed to discredit. According to him, the Zolibib (Joliba) flows for six days' journey east, with some declination

* It is but justice to D'Anville to notice, that, in his map of central Africa, inserted in the twenty-sixth volume of the Academie des Inscriptions, he has represented a river passing close to Tombuctoo, running south-west, and falling into the Niger. This delineation has not been copied by others; but it is not the less probable, that that excellent geographer may have had positive information on which to found it.

southward; then a lofty mountain turns it nearly south-east; and the mountains continuing to extend along its banks, cause it to follow that direction during the remainder of its course to Wassanah. The information collected at that city very strongly favoured the belief, that the river which passed by its walls, was the same river as the Congo. Upon these facts the ingenious critic, who has distinguished himself as the ablest advocate for that hypothesis, modifies it in the following manner. He adopts the opinion above stated, that there are two rivers flowing in opposite directions, to which the common name of Niger is at present applied. These he supposes to be separated by the chain of mountains, traversed by Sidi Hamet, on the south side of which flows the *Niger of the East*, the Zolibib and Zad of that traveller; on the north side the Niger of the West, the river of Cassina, the Nile of the Negroes of the Arabians, which runs westward, and loses itself in the Sea of Soudan, or some other receptacle. This system, in the present state of twilight in which we are involved, appears, on the whole, the most probable which existing materials allow us to form. I shall barely mention the following additional conjecture. Is it impossible that the Gozen Zayr of Sidi Hamet, and the Mar Zahr of Adams, may be the *Niger* of the West, and Tombuctoo the point of junc-

tion, at which all the central waters take their course to the southward? The account of the former river, indeed, is not very clear. He calls it, at one place, a small river; yet, if it be half the breadth from Mogadore to the island, or two hundred and fifty yards, this term could scarcely apply. At another place he calls it the same river with the Zolibib, which could scarcely be the case, either from its magnitude or situation. His account of the small river, sometimes dried up, passing by Tombuctoo, scarcely answers to the Mar Zarah, which appeared to Adams three quarters of a mile broad. It is possible, however, that very simple explanations might remove the difficulty which very slight inaccuracies of observation and ambiguities of expression are so apt to occasion. It may be observed, that upon these suppositions, this yet unexplored west-flowing river will be almost exclusively the river so famed in antiquity, the Niger of Ptolemy, the Nile of the Negroes of the Arabians. The latter, especially, could know nothing of the Niger traversed by Park, nor of that branch turning to the south, which has been delineated by Sidi Hamet. There might be room for further observations on the subject; but, indeed, we are "weary of conjectures," and entertain hopes that Mr Campbell and his party, to a certain extent, "may end them." It seems probable

that they will at least penetrate beyond Tombuctoo; in which case they will at least explain whatever is mysterious in the course of the streams at and around that city.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF AFRICA. *

Mineralogy.—Geognosy.—Primitive Rocks.—Transition Flœtz.—Alluvial.—Minerals found in Africa.—Zoology. —Mammalia.—Birds.—Reptiles.—Insects.—Zoophytes.

In endeavouring to exhibit a general view of the Natural History of Africa, it may be proper to begin with its

Mineralogy.

The minerals of this great continent are very imperfectly known, and the geognostical relations of its rocks have hitherto engaged the attention of but few observers. The facts we shall now state are given by travellers in the accounts of their journeys, but which are in general much less satisfactory than the present state of mineralogical science demands.

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* I am happy in being able to state, that I am indebted for this chapter to my friend Mr Jameson, the very eminent Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, and well known to the learned world by his excellent works on Geology and Mineralogy.

It is much to be regretted, that those enterprising men who have travelled in Africa have hitherto paid so little attention to natural history, and particularly to mineralogy. This latter branch of knowledge, however, is now so well understood, and so generally studied, that no traveller proceeding to that country will in future be considered as deserving the public confidence, or as accomplished for his purposes, without an accurate and scientific acquaintance with it. How much could Bruce, Browne, Park, and other distinguished travellers, have effected, had their knowledge of natural history been more accurate and extensive?

The vast plains, numerous platforms, which are frequently indicated by the successive cascades in the course of the great rivers—and the vast ranges of mountains which characterize Africa in so striking a manner, are intimately connected with the original formation of this continent, and also with those changes it has experienced in latter periods. These grand features in the physiognomy of this quarter of the globe, are not to be viewed as merely accidental arrangements; on the contrary, it could be shewn, that all of them have a mutual and determinate relation to each other, and together form a grand whole, characteristic of Africa.

Geognosy of Africa.

Hitherto no extensive series of observations have

been made in regard to the general direction and dip of the African strata, and the relative positions of the great rock formations still remain very imperfectly known. We can discern in the accounts of travellers descriptions of species of four of the great classes of rocks, viz. Primitive, Transition, Flœtz, and Alluvial; and some accounts would appear to intimate the occurrence of volcanic rocks in this quarter of the globe. Of these rocks the alluvial occupy an uncommonly large portion of the surface of the continent, while the volcanic are but of comparatively small extent. The primitive and transition rocks occupy the higher and middle parts of several of the great tracts of mountainous country, but the flœtz rocks which rest upon these generally occupy a lower level. Petrifactions, or fossil organic remains, are met with in great abundance in some of the newer rocks; and of these the petrifactions of vegetables are generally imbedded in slate or sandstone, while those of animals are contained in limestone.

Primitive Rocks.

1. *Granite.* This rock, which is a compound of felspar, quartz, and mica, is met with in Upper Egypt, as near to Cosseir; also at Tetuan in Algiers, in Darfûr, and in the great ranges of mountains at the sources of the Senegal. The Khamkiesberg, to the northward of the Cape of Good

Hope, is of a granite, which is disposed in round granular concretions, often of enormous magnitude. The rock is traversed by veins, some of which are filled with quartz, and also by others containing the beautiful mineral named Prehnite, or ores of different kinds resting upon gneiss, or some other of the allied species. Barrow describes a hill under the name of Pearlberg, to the north of the peninsula of the Cape of Good Hope, which is remarkable for its shape. It has its name from a chain of large rocks, like the pearls of a necklace, that pass over the summit, and are very remarkable in their appearance. Two of them, placed near the central and highest point, are called the Diamond and Pearl. They are said to be of very coarse granular granite, but the hill of sandstone. The Pearl is about four hundred feet above the summit of the hill, and the circumference of its base fully a mile. The Diamond is larger. The central rock of the peninsula of the Cape of Good Hope is granite, which is highest at the northern extremity, and lower gradually to the south. This granite is observed in many places covered with clay slate, and veins of the granite shoot from the massive rock into the clay slate. The higher parts of the peninsula are covered with a platform of horizontal sandstone. It is remarked by Professor Playfair, that the penetration of the slate by veins, from the mass of granite which it surrounds, proves that the slate,

though the superior rock, is of older formation than the granite. The granite, therefore, is a mineral that has come up from below into the situation it now occupies, and is not one of which the materials have been deposited by the sea in any shape, either mechanical or chemical.* If this explanation was admitted, then we would be forced to maintain the igneous origin of sandstone, limestone, clay slate, and many other rocks, admitted in all systems to be of Neptunian origin, because these rocks exhibit similar phenomena to those just mentioned, as occurring at the junction of the granite and slate.

Gneiss.

This rock, which is a compound of felspar, quartz, and mica, with a slaty structure, is met with in Upper Egypt, and probably in some of the other granite districts already mentioned.

Mica Slate.

I do not find this rock mentioned by any of the African travellers.

Clay Slate.

This well known mountain rock occurs abundantly in some districts in Upper Egypt, where it is traversed by thick veins of jasper, and also at the

* Hall and Playfair in Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions, Vol. VII. p. 277.

Cape of Good Hope, and in the ranges of mountains to the north of the peninsula of the Cape, where it forms the fundamental rock on which the sandstone rests.

Porphyry.

This rock, which has usually a red colour, occurs in Upper Egypt associated with syenite, and also with serpentine, limestone, and clay slate; and Bruce mentions it as forming mountains in Abyssinia.

Syenite.

This rock, which is distinguished from granite by the hornblende it contains as an essential ingredient, occurs along with porphyry, granite, and other rocks in Upper Egypt, and extends southward into Abyssinia.

Greenstone.

Greenstone, which is a compound of hornblende and felspar, occurs in beds in Upper Egypt. It is sometimes porphyritic, and frequently it forms an uniform green coloured basis, in which pale green crystals of felspar are imbedded, forming a beautiful rock, known under the name of *green porphyry*. It is known to artists under the name *antique green porphyry*, and it has been frequently confounded with the verd antique, which is a mixture of serpentine and marble, and therefore a very different rock from porphyry.

Serpentine.

This green coloured mountain rock occurs in beds in the mountains to the west of the Nile, where it is associated beds with limestone and clay slate; also along with clay slate and beds of compact felspar in the mountains that range along the west side of the Red Sea. It is erroneously described by some authors as a green coloured marble.

Marble, or Granular foliated Limestone.

Beds of this rock of a white, grey, yellow, bluish, and red colour occur, in beds with clay slate, and also with serpentine, in Upper Egypt, Darfûr, and Abyssinia. In these countries it is occasionally intermixed with serpentine, forming the well known compound rock named *verde antico.*

Greywacke, named also Breccià di Verde.

This conglomerated looking transition rock occurs in beds of great thickness and extent, along with clay slate in the ranges of mountains that extend towards Cosseir. It is remarked, that as we approach Cosseir, three sets of rocks succeed each other: the first set is small, granular, and granitic; the second set is of the breccià di verde; and the third of slate, which alternates with and passes into the breccià.

Transition Limestone.

The predominating rock of the Atlas range, as it passes through Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, according to the acounts of travellers, is a limestone having the characters of that denominated transition. It exhibits variegated colours, and in some places is quarried as a marble, for the Numidic yellow, and variegated marbles, so highly prized by the ancients, were dug in this great range of mountains.

In the preceding list, we have enumerated granites, syenites, porphyries, serpentines, &c.; but the descriptions of their geognostic relations given by travellers are so imperfect, that we cannot venture to determine how many of the varieties belong to the primitive, and how many to the transition classes of rocks.

Flœtz Rocks.

Sandstone.

This rock occurs in great abundance in many regions in Africa, as in the mountains leading to Cosseir, at Tetuan in Fez, Tunis, the peninsula of the Cape of Good Hope, and forming great mountains, reaching to a height of ten thousand feet to the northward of the Cape of Good Hope. At Tetuan it is said to rest upon granite; in many of the mountain ranges in Southern Africa, upon clay slate or granite. It passes into a grey co-

loured quartz, and does not contain organic remains. It is not improbable, that much of this sandstone may prove, on more particular examination, to belong to the species named quartz rock, which occurs in vast beds both in the primitive and transition classes.

Limestone.

This limestone has a splintery or conchoidal fracture, and its colour is grey or variegated. It contains numerous petrifactions of shells, corals, and fishes. It extends from Syene to the Mediterranean; and in Lower Egypt reaches from Alexandria to the Red Sea, in the vicinity of Suez. It extends from the westward of the Nile onward to Fezzan, forming single hills and ranges of hills. In the hilly district of Fezzan, near Harutsch, the limestone which still prevails is caped and intermixed with trap rocks. The limestone is generally disposed in horizontal strata, but where the trap rocks appear, the stratification is more or less varied in its position. In travelling from Fezzan northwards towards Tripoli, the continuation of the Harutsch presents ranges of basaltic eminences alternating with rows of limestone hills. A limestone of the same description appears to view in the mountain ranges leading to Cosseir, and in the same tract of country there are hills of limestone associated with gypsum. It is also met with in the lower parts of the Atlas range, as near to Algiers,

where it contains petrified fishes, and it is mentioned as occurring in the vicinity of Carthage.

Gypsum.

This flœtz rock occurs within three leagues of Cosseir, where it is connected with limestone, and probably also with porphyry; and it is mentioned as having been found in the valley of Egarement, associated with rock salt.

Salt.

This mineral occurs in vast quantities in Northern Africa, on both sides of the Atlas mountains. Mr Horneman, in his journey from Cairo to Ummesogier, discovered a plain on a limestone range, which bounds the desert of Libya to the north, consisting of a mass of rock salt, spread over so large a tract of surface, that in one direction no eye could reach its termination, and its width he computed at several miles. To the south-east of Abyssinia there is a plain of salt four days' journey across, whence all that country is supplied. In the valley of Egarement there are beds of salt resting upon gypsum. At Tegazza, and in several other places in Sahara, large beds of very pure rock salt occur under strata of different kinds of solid rock; and beds of salt appear in Darfûr. Salt is also obtained in quantity from salt lakes of Domboo, from similar lakes in Southern Africa, and it is

remarked that beds of rock salt occur under strata of sandstone in Southern Africa.

Coal.

Hitherto scarcely any traces of coal have been met with in Africa. The only instance I find recorded by travellers, is the following by Mr Barrow, where coal was found at the Tyger-berg, in the country to the north of the Cape of Good Hope. It is described as a bed of imperfect coal resting upon clay, and covered with clay and white sandstone. The coal is ligneous, or of the nature of brown coal, and contains intermixed iron pyrites.

Trap.

Trap rocks of the nature of basalt occur in some places in the Atlas range, apparently connected with limestone: rocks of the same description are met with at Sierra Leone, and abundantly in the limestone hills of Harutsch in Fezzan. The limestone hills that extend from Fezzan to Tripoli also contain extensive formations of trap, and it is remarked, that these rocks occasion considerable variety in the position of the limestone strata; owing to the crystallization of the trap rocks, if they are of aquatic formation, or to the action of the lava, if they are of volcanic origin.

Detached hills of amygdaloid, also a trap rock,

are found near the clay slate of Gellbock, in Southern Africa.

In some maps of Africa, I observe a range of mountains to the southward of the syenite and porphyry formations of Upper Egypt, marked as composed of basalt.

Volcanic Rocks.

We have no description of the volcanic rocks of Africa; but travellers inform us, that there is a volcano in Abyssinia, and two on the coast of Mosambique.

Alluvial.

The principal alluvial formation in Africa is the sand which covers the great deserts.

In some places of the great desert, as Mr Horneman remarks, the sandy waste was covered with innumerable fragments of petrified wood, sometimes whole trunks of trees, twelve feet in circumference, sometimes merely branches and twigs, or even pieces of bark. This petrified wood was generally black, but sometimes ash grey, when it resembles natural wood so completely as to be sometimes brought in for the purpose of firing.

It is to be regretted, that we possess no accurate description of this sand, or of the minerals contained in it. Now, since it appears probable, that some kinds of sand are original deposites, and not

formed by the action of the atmosphere and the water on previously existing rocks, it is of consequence to know accurately the oryctognostic and geognostic relations of sands, particularly those that form the great deserts in Africa and other quarters of the globe.

MINERALS FOUND IN AFRICA.

1. *Topaz.*—This gem is said to have been collected by the order of the ancient kings of Egypt, in an island in the Red Sea named Zemorget, or the Island of Topazes.

2. *Emerald.*—The Romans are said to have procured this gem from the mountains situated on the western shores of the Red Sea in Upper Egypt and Ethiopia. Bruce mentions an island in the Red Sea named the Island of Emeralds, but which contains only green coloured fluor spar.

3. *Chrysoberyl.*—This gem is also enumerated amongst the mineral productions of Upper Egypt.

4. *Schorl.*—It occurs imbedded in the granite at the sources of the Senegal.

5. *Epidote or Pistacite.*—This mineral is found in the valleys near Cosseir, along with actynolite, and also near Orange river in Southern Africa.

6. *Precious Garnet.*—This beautiful gem is found in Ethiopia.

7. *Quartz.*—The rarest varieties of quartz met

with in Africa are the *Avanturine*, which is found in Egypt, and the *rock crystal* of Tunis.

8. *Wood Stone.*—This mineral is already mentioned as occurring imbedded in the sand of the desert.

9. *Calcedony and Carnelian.*—Both these semi-pellucid stones are found on the banks of the Nile, in Upper and Lower Egypt.

10. *Agate.*—It is found to the eastward of Cairo.

11. *Common Jasper.*—It occurs in veins of considerable thickness in clay slate in Upper Egypt.

12. *Egyptian Jasper.*—This beautiful mineral, which is peculiar to Africa, occurs loose, and very abundantly in the sandy desert between Cairo and Suez: also in other parts of Lower Egypt, where it is said to occur, imbedded in a species of conglomerate.

13. *Prehnite.*—This beautiful species of the zeolite family is found in veins that traverse granite, in the country of the Namaquas, to the north of the Cape of Good Hope.

14. *Actynolite.*—It occurs in alpine valleys in Upper Egypt, along with epidote.

15. *Hornblende.*—It is abundantly imbedded in the syenite and greenstone of Upper Egypt.

16. *Amianthus.*—Beautiful blue and yellow coloured amianthus are found near Hardcastle, on the Orange river, in Southern Africa. Specimens

of these and other minerals, collected in Africa, are now in the Museum of the University of Edinburgh, presented by Mr Campbell, the Missionary traveller. I have much pleasure in mentioning this circumstance, as it shews that these gentlemen may execute all their important duties, while, at the same time, by their observations and collections, they contribute, in an eminent degree, to the advancement of Natural History.

17. *Fluor Spar.*—A beautiful green coloured variety of this mineral, which has been confounded with emerald, is said to occur in the Island of Emeralds, in the Red Sea.

18. *Heavy Spar, or Sulphat of Barytes.*—This mineral occurs in small quantity in Lower Egypt.

19. *Nitre.*—This salt occurs incrusting rocks in Darfûr, and in the Karroo deserts in Southern Africa.

20. *Natron.*—Of this salt there are two subspecies, viz. common and radiated, and both are found in Africa. The common natron occurs in considerable quantity in Egypt, at the town of Nitria, also in the valley of the Natron Lakes, and in Nubia. * The radiated subspecies is found in the province of Sukena, two days' journey from Fezzan. It is found at the bottom of a rocky mountain, forming crusts, usually the thickness of a knife,

* Glauber salt is associated in layers with the natron of the lakes.

and sometimes, although rarely, of an inch, on the surface of the earth. According to Mr Barrow, it would appear also to occur in the district of Tarka, in Bosjesman's Land, in Southern Africa.

21. *Sulphur.*—This substance is met with in Darfûr.

22. *Graphite or Black Lead.*—It is said to occur near the Cape of Good Hope, and also near Tunis.

23. *Gold.*—This continent affords a considerable quantity of gold, which is always obtained in the form of dust or rolled masses, and is found in the sand of rivers, or the alluvial soil of valleys or plains. The northern parts of Africa afford but little gold, but in the middle and southern regions, there are several tracts remarkable for the quantity of gold they afford. The first is Kordofan, situated between Darfûr and Abyssinia. The gold collected there is brought to market by the negroes in quills of the ostrich and vulture. This territory, it would appear, was known to the ancients, who regarded Æthiopia as a country rich in gold.

The second principal tract lies to the south of the Great Desert of Zahara, and in the western part of Africa. The gold is collected in that extensive flat which stretches from the foot of those mountains in which are situated the sources of the rivers Gambia, Senegal, and Niger. Gold is also

found in the sands of all these rivers. Bambouk, which is situated to the north-west of these mountains, furnishes the greatest part of the gold which is sold on the western coast of Africa, as well as that which is brought to Morocco, Fez, Algiers, and to Cairo, and Alexandria in Egypt.

The third principal tract where gold is abundant, lies on the south-east coast, between 15° and 22° of south latitude, and nearly opposite Madagascar. The gold of that country, it is said, is found not only in the state of dust, but also in veins; and it is supposed, that Ophir, from which Solomon obtained gold, was a country on the same coast. Nearer to the equator, the Gold Coast supplied the Portuguese, and afterwards the Dutch, with great quantities of gold dust. *

24. *Silver.*—There are several silver mines in the territory of Tunis; others are reported to exist in the mountains behind Mosambique, also in those behind Congo. Browne heard that silver abounded in Zanfara, a country to the west of Darfur. He is single in this respect, and I suspect it is a mistake.

25. *Copper.*—Considerable quantities of this metal are found in the western Atlas, also in the territory of Tunis; and there are copper mines at Fertit, bordering on Fur, to the south. It occurs

* Jameson's Mineralogy, Vol. III.

also in Abyssinia, and abundantly behind Mosambique. It is equally abundant in the southern part of the mountains behind Congo, also in the mountains of the Damaras, north of Orange river. I do not find the species of ore accurately described; but it would appear, that, in some districts, in Southern Africa, it is vitreous copper ore.

26. *Iron.*—This metal is found in considerable quantity in Morocco, and in the country behind Sofala, where it is chiefly worked by the Makooanas. Mines of iron are said to occur in Abyssinia. Red hematite, an ore of iron, occurs in veins in sandstone, in the mountains near the Cape of Good Hope; and micaceous iron ore is met with in the same country, and used by the natives, along with grease, for ornamenting their hair and bodies. Native meteoric iron has been met with in several places in Africa. Golberry, in his journey through Western Africa, in the years 1805-7, found a mass of native iron in the Great Desert of Zahara. Fragments of it were brought to Europe by Colonel O'Hara, and were analysed by Mr Howard, who found it composed of 96 parts of iron and 4 of nickel. Barrow mentions a mass of iron he met with on the banks of the Great Fish River, in Caffraria, which appears to be meteoric. *

27. *Lead.*—We have very few notices of the

* Jameson's Mineralogy, Vol. III. p. 202, 203.

occurrence of this metal in Africa. Lead mines are said to exist in Tunis and Abyssinia, and veins of galena, or leadglance, intersect the strata of sandstone in the chain of Zwarteberg, in the country behind the Cape of Good Hope.

28. *Antimony.*—This metal is said to occur in large quantity in the Western Atlas.

Zoology.

The ZOOLOGY of this continent is less known than that of the other great quarters of the globe. The animals in its interior, those in many districts both on its east and west coasts, are, in a manner, unknown to us. The various journeys of modern travellers, in different directions through Africa, have added many species to its Fauna, and have excited an extraordinary desire amongst naturalists to know more of its zoological productions. Its quadrupeds and birds are amongst the largest and most striking hitherto met with by naturalists. Its amphibious animals, fishes, and insects, have exhibited phenomena of the highest curiosity; and the few facts that are known in regard to the molluscan animals and corals, allow us to anticipate, from a further examination, numerous important discoveries. In a work like the present, we cannot enter into any particular account of the Fauna of this quarter of the globe; but must rest satisfied with

a short enumeration of some of the animals which are peculiar to it.

We shall mention the different classes of animals as they are arranged in the zoological system of naturalists, beginning, therefore, with the

Mammalia.

Of all the quadrumanous, or four-handed animals found in Africa, the most remarkable is the Simia troglodytes, chimpansè, or orang-outang. Its whole make, the want of a tail, and of cheek-pouches, and the arms, which are so short, as not to extend beyond the knee, give it very much the appearance of the human species. It was formerly confounded with the orang-outang of Borneo, the Simia satyrus of naturalists; but the orang-outang of Borneo is brown, whereas that of Africa is black. It is said occasionally to attain a height of from five to six feet, and to be possessed of great strength.

Africa abounds in baboons and monkeys. Several of the baboon tribe are remarkable for their great size, uncommon strength, disgusting manners, and ferocity; while the numerous species of the monkey tribe are more agreeably distinguished by their lively and playful manners, and their great imitative powers.

Several species of the bat (vespertilio) tribes are met with in Africa; and some species, as the

borbonicus and nigrita, are peculiar to this continent.

Several of the squirrel, or sciurus tribe, occur in Africa, and the following species are considered as peculiar to it :

Sciurus getulus
setosus
Abyssinicus
ater.

Of the mouse tribe, many species are enumerated amongst the animals of this continent.

The black rat (mus rattus) and the common mouse (mus musculus) are abundant ; but one of the most remarkable of the whole tribe is covered with hair and spines, somewhat like the porcupine, and appears to be nearly allied to the *rat epineux* of Azara.

Four species of hare (lepus) are described as peculiar to Africa, viz.

Lepus Ægypticus
capensis
2. species capensis.

Some authors mention the common hare as a native of Northern Africa ; but it is probable they may have confounded the Egyptian hare (lepus Ægypticus) with it.

The crested porcupine occurs in Africa ; but hitherto no species of this genus have been ascertained to be peculiar to this quarter of the globe.

Of the hedgehog tribe (erinaceus) there is one species entitled Ægypticus, which is said to be peculiar to Egypt; and, in the island of Madagascar, there are four species of a genus very nearly allied to the hedgehog, named by Cuvier *Centetes*. The shrew (sorex) tribe has also been met with in Africa, for there is a species described as a native of the Capé of Good Hope.

The common mole (talpa Europea) is found in many districts in Africa. Travellers mention an animal as occurring in the vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope, which has been described under the name *golden mole*, from the singular appearance of its fur, which exhibits beautiful changing iridescent colours, somewhat resembling those observed in the hair of a South American marsupial animal. But it differs from the mole in the form of its skull, and the nature of its teeth; and hence has been considered as forming a distinct genus named *Chrysochloris*.

The civet cat (viverra civetta), which secretes in a bag, under its tail, the perfume called *civet*, is found only in Africa, and the famous ichneumon (viverra ichneumon) worshipped by the ancient Egyptians, does not appear to occur in any other quarter of the globe.

Animals of the bear tribe (ursus) occur but seldom in this continent; the black bear (ursus niger) is met with among the mountains of Barbary.

Several species of the dog (canis) tribe are met with in Africa. Vast troops of wild dogs occur in Congo; these are not the original of the common dog, but appear to be some variety of that animal which has become wild. It is uncertain if the fox (canis vulpes) occurs in Africa; but the wolf is common in many places; and the jackall (canis aureus), which is probably the fox of holy writ, is abundant.

The lion, which was formerly an inhabitant of the three quarters of the old world, is now principally confined to Africa, and a few bordering Asiatic districts. The panther and the leopard are also confined to Africa. Several other species nearly allied to those just mentioned, are described as peculiar to Africa, but their history is still involved in much obscurity.

The hyæna tribe is almost peculiar to Africa. In Southern Africa we meet with the spotted hyæna (hyæna crocuta); and in the north, the striped hyæna (hyæna striata), which occurs also in the Levant, Persia, and India.

That remarkable quadruped, the manis, which is incased in an armour of moveable horny scales, is confined to the old world, and one of the species entitled Manis tetradactyla, or long tailed manis, is found in Guinea, and also in Senegal.

The myrmecophaga, or ant-eater, used to be reckoned amongst the native inhabitants of Africa;

but it has been ascertained that all the species of that genus are confined to the new world, and that the supposed ant-eater of the old world belongs to another genus, or tribe, entitled orycteropus, which is characterized by its grinders and claws. There is but one species of the genus named O. capensis, which occurs at the Cape of Good Hope.

Africa is richer in animals of the horse tribe than any other quarter of the globe. In its southern extremity there are two species, the zebra and quagga, both distinguished by the beautiful marking of their skin; and Northern Africa affords the common horse, and also the wild ass.

Of all the domesticated animals, not originally natives of Africa, the dromedary is the most important and useful to the natives. It is their principal beast of burden, and is by them emphatically named the *ship of the desert.* If the dromedary did not possess an astonishing degree of temperance,—if it had not the power of supporting thirst for a great length of time,—and of traversing with rapidity immense distances, over deserts covered with a deep and burning sand, vast tracts, both of Africa and Asia, would be uninhabited and waste.

The most remarkable of all the bisulcated, or hoofed animals of Africa, is the giraffe, or camelopard, which is distributed through this continent from the northern frontier of the colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as far north as Egypt. Its

neck is of uncommon length, its head very much resembles that of a sheep, but it is provided with two undivided horns, tipped with brushes of hair. It is the tallest of land animals, individuals having been measured eighteen feet high. It is a remarkably gentle animal, and lives on the leaves of trees.

No animals of the deer tribe (cervus) occur in southern and tropical Africa; and the small *cervus Guineensis* appears to be a species of antelope. The red deer (cervus elephas) occurs in the north of Africa, but may have been imported from Europe. But Africa, although destitute of deer, is abundantly supplied with species of that beautiful tribe of hoofed quadrupeds, named antelope. There are about thirty species of antelope found in Africa, and most of them distinguished by the great beauty of their form, the gracefulness of their motions, and their velocity of speed. The most striking species is the A. gnou, a native of the Cape of Good Hope. It appears to be a very singular compound of animals, uniting the strong head and horns of the bull, with the lightness and skin of the stag; the beauty of the mane, body, and tail of the horse, and the lachrymal sinus of the antelope; in short, at first view it appears to be a mixture of the bull, antelope, and horse; and seems more nearly allied to the bovine than the antelope tribe. It is one

of the swiftest and most restless of the antelope tribe, and is about three feet eight inches high, and five feet eight inches long. It is worthy of remark that the antelope does not occur in the new world.

Animals of the goat and sheep tribes (capra) appear to be rare in Africa. The different species mentioned by travellers, as occurring in the northern parts of this continent, are very dubious. The wild goat (capra ægagrus), which is alleged to be the original of the domestic goat, is said to inhabit the north of Africa; and the mouflon of Africa occurs in rocky deserts in Barbary, and also in Egypt. The only species of the ox tribe peculiar to Africa, is that named the Caffrarian buffalo (bos Caffer), which is of great size, and remarkably wild and ferocious.

The ancients have reported the existence of several animals in Africa, which there is now reason to regard as fabulous. Among these, the most celebrated was the unicorn, on which we shall extract the excellent remarks of Cuvier, in his Theory of the Earth.

"The most famous among these fabulous animals of the ancients was the *unicorn*. Its real existence has been obstinately asserted even in the present day, or at least proofs of its existence have been eagerly sought for. Three several animals are frequently mentioned by the ancients as having only

one horn placed on the middle of the forehead. The *oryx* of Africa, having cloven hoofs, the hair placed reversely to that of other animals, * its height equal to that of the bull, † or even of the rhinoceros, ‡ and said to resemble deer and goats in its form; § the *Indian ass*, having solid hoofs; and the *monoceros*, properly so called, whose feet are sometimes compared to those of the lion, ‖ and sometimes to those of the elephant, ¶ and is therefore considered as having divided feet. The horse unicorn ** and the bull unicorn are doubtless both referable to the Indian ass, for even the latter is described as having solid hoofs. †† We may therefore be fully assured that these animals have never really existed, as no solitary horns have ever found their way into our collections, excepting those of the rhinoceros and narwal.

"After careful consideration, it is impossible that we should give any credit to rude sketches made by savages upon rocks. Entirely ignorant of perspective, and wishing to represent the outlines of a

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* Aristot. Anim. II. 1. and III. 2.—Plin. XI. 46.

† Herodot. IV. 192.

‡ Oppian, Cyneg. II. vers. 551.

§ Plin. VIII. 53.

‖ Philostrog. III. ii.

¶ Plin. VIII. 21.

** Onesecrit. ap. Strab. lib. XV.—Ælian. Anim. XIII. 42.

†† See Pliny and Solinus.

straight-horned antelope in profile, they could only give the figure one horn, and thus they produced an oryx. The oryxes, too, that are seen on the Egyptian monuments, are nothing more, probably, than productions of the stiff style, imposed on the sculptors of the country, by religious prejudices. Several of their profiles of quadrupeds shew only one fore and one hinder leg, and it is probable that the same rule led them also to represent only one horn. Perhaps their figures may have been copied after individuals that had lost one of their horns by accident, a circumstance that often happens to the chamois and the saiga, species of the antelope genus, and this would be quite sufficient to establish the error. All the ancients, however, have not represented the oryx as having only one horn. Oppian expressly attributes two to this animal, and Ælian mentions one that had four.* Finally, if this animal was ruminant and cloven-footed, we are quite certain that its frontal bone must have been divided longitudinally into two, and that it could not possibly, as is very justly remarked by Camper, have had a horn placed upon the suture.

"It may be asked, however, What two horned animal could have given an idea of the *oryx*, in the forms in which it has been transmitted down to us, even independent of the notion of a single

* Ælian. Anim. XV. 14.

horn? To this I answer, as already done by Pallas, that it was the straight-horned *antilope oryx* of Gmelin, improperly named *pasan* by Buffon. This animal inhabits the deserts of Africa, and must frequently approach the confines of Egypt, and appears to be that which is represented in the hieroglyphics. It equals the ox in height, while the shape of its body approaches to that of a stag, and its straight horns present exceedingly formidable weapons, hard almost as iron, and sharp pointed like javelins. Its hair is whitish; it has black spots and streaks on its face, and the hair on its back points forwards. Such is the description given by naturalists; and the fables of the Egyptian priests, which have occasioned the insertion of its figure among their hieroglyphics, do not require to have been founded in nature. Supposing that an individual of this species may have been seen which had lost one of its horns by some accident, it may have been taken as a representative of the entire race, and erroneously adopted by Aristotle to be copied by all his successors. All this is quite possible and even natural, and gives not the smallest evidence for the existence of a single-horned species of antelope."

Those animals in which the hoof is divided into more than two parts, or what are called multungulated, are abundant, and well characterized in Af-

rica. Of these the following are the most interesting.

1. *Elephant.*—One species of this genus is peculiar to Africa, and is named the African elephant. Its head is roundish, forehead convex, ears large, and the surfaces of the grinders have lozenge-shaped ridges. It appears to have only three toes or hoofs on the hind feet. It inhabits Africa from Senegal to the Cape of Good Hope. It is not known if it extends along the east coast of Africa, or if it is there replaced by the Asiatic species. At present the African elephant is never domesticated; although it appears from historians that the Carthaginians trained them for war and for various domestic purposes.

2. *Rhinoceros.*—One species of this remarkable genus is peculiar to Africa. It has two horns on the nose, the skin is smooth, and not disposed in folds, as is the case with the one horned species.

3. *Hippopotamus.*—This animal is an inhabitant of the large south African rivers, and is sometimes seen in herds. It was met with in the river Nile in ancient times; but it has long since disappeared from that part of Africa. It is almost peculiar to Africa, a few individuals only having been seen in Sumatra.

4. *Hog* (sus).—There is but one species of hog peculiar to Africa; it is the African hog of Schreber, and which is figured and described by Daniels

in his African scenery, as a native of Southern Africa. It is also met with in the island of Madagascar.

The wild hog (sus scrofa) occurs in Northern Africa.

5. *Phaco-coerus.*—Of this tribe, which is very nearly allied to the preceding, there is but one species peculiar to Africa. It is described under the names African and Æthiopic hog, and is met with in different parts of Africa, as Cape Verd and the Cape of Good Hope.

6. *Hyrax.*—There is but one species of this tribe known to naturalists, which is the size of a hare, and is frequently met with in rocky situations in Africa. It is also met with in Syria, and is the *saphan* of the Old Testament.

The natural history of the palmated mammiferous animals of Africa is still very imperfect. Seals occur on the coasts, and occasionally in considerable numbers. The common seal (phoca vitulina) is said to occur on the coast of Barbary and at the Cape of Good Hope; and the phoca jubata, or sea lion, is alleged to have been seen on the coasts of the Cape of Good Hope.

Another genus of palmated mammiferous animals occurs at the mouths of the great African rivers. It is named *manatus.* It differs from the trichechus or sea horse, or morse of the northern regions, in wanting the hinder feet, and being

shaped behind like a fish; a circumstance which connects it rather more with the whales than the morses. They form as it were the link by which palmated quadrupeds are connected with the cetacea. The head is roundish; the body oblong, and ends in an oval fish-like tail; jaws are provided with grinders, of which there are eight on each side, and both in the upper and lower jaws; but there are neither canine nor forc-teeth. It has two swimming paws, provided with long nails, and the animal uses these paws as hands; hence its name manatus, which has been further corrupted into lamantin, another name given to these animals. The mammæ are placed high on the breast, and in the female are roundish and prominent. It grows fifteen feet and more in length. These animals occasionally raise themselves more than half out of the water, when they appear somewhat like the human species, and have been described under the names *merman* and *mermaid*. They occur at the mouth of the Congo and other great rivers in Africa. Drawings and descriptions of the manatus, under the names mermen and mermaids, are given in the writings of early writers, as in the *Relation Historique de L'Ethiopie Occidentale, par L. P. Labat. Tome I.*

Few species of the whale or cetacous tribe are met with near the coasts of Africa; and it would appear that these animals, as well as seals, are less

frequent in the warmer, than in the colder regions of the earth.

II.—Birds.

Birds peculiar to Africa.

Many more species of birds are found in South America than in Africa; but the African species are more numerous than those of Australia, if we except the aquatic birds, that appear to be more numerous in Australia than in Africa. The ornithology of the lakes and rivers of Africa is as little known as that of the rivers and lakes of New Holland and New Zealand; hence the small number of marsh and aquatic birds enumerated in the Fauna of Africa, compared with what is contained in the Fauna of the comparatively small continent of Europe.

There are in Africa about 612 species, being a sixth part of the known species of birds; and of these nearly 500 are peculiar to it. Of 87 genera found in Africa, six or eight are peculiar to it, viz. corythaix, musophaga, buphaga, numida, didus, scopus, and probably also gypogeranus and pogonias. The didus or dodo, so much celebrated in ornithology, was formerly seen in the island of Bourbon, as well as in some parts of Africa; but is now become so rare as to be no longer discoverable in the regions where it was formerly found; and has pro-

bably, like some other animals, become extinct, from some causes with which we are unacquainted.

The Guinea-fowl, or Numida meleagris, is originally a native of Africa, and may be considered as corresponding with the genera phasianus and gallus (common fowl) of Asia, and the meleagris (turkey) and penelope of America. The common ostrich (struthio camelus), one of the largest and most remarkable of the feathered tribe, and which has been celebrated from the most remote historic antiquity, is peculiar to Africa, and some districts in Asia. It abounds in the sandy deserts, and attains the height of from six to eight feet. It runs swifter than any other animal. They live in large troops, and lay eggs three pounds weight, which are hatched solely by the heat of the sun in the warmest regions of Africa; but in less heated regions, the bird occasionally sits upon them.

In Africa, as is generally the case in warm-climates; the insectiverous and frugiverous birds are the most frequent, because insects and fruits are very abundant. And it may be remarked, that the parrot tribe, which is so numerous in the other southern regions of the globe, is comparatively rare in Africa.

The following is a general view of the genera and species found in Africa, arranged according to the method of Illiger :—

Order I.—*Scansores.*

1. Genus, Psittacus or parrot tribe. Sixteen species are found in Africa, and of these twelve are peculiar to it, and four common to other parts of the world.

2. Genus, Pogonias, four species. Of these three are peculiar to Africa, and one common to other parts.

3. Genus, Corythaix. Two species, and these are peculiar to Africa.

4. Genus, Trogon. One species, which is peculiar to Africa.

5. Genus, Musophaga. One species, which is peculiar to Africa.

6. Genus, Bucco. One species, which is peculiar to Africa.

7. Cuculus, cuckoo. Of the cuckoo tribe, sixteen species are found in Africa, and of these fifteen are peculiar to it.

8. Centropus. There are three species, all of which are peculiar to Africa.

9. Picus, woodpecker. There are ten species peculiar to Africa.

II.—*Ambulatores.*

1. Alcedo, kingfisher. Thirteen species occur in Africa, and of these nine are peculiar to it, and

the other four species it has in common with other parts of the globe.

2. Merops, bee-eater. Eleven species; of these nine are peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

3. Nectarinia. Thirty-one species; thirty peculiar, and one in common with other countries.

4. Upupa. Five species; three peculiar, two common to other countries.

5. Sitta, nuthatch. Two species, peculiar.

6. Buphaga. One species, peculiar.

7. Oriolus. Three species, peculiar.

8. Turdus, thrush. Forty-three species; thirty-eight species peculiar, five common to other countries.

9. Sturnus, starling. One species, which it has in common with other countries.

10. Motacilla, warbler. Fifty-four species; forty-nine peculiar, five in common with other countries.

11. Musicapa, flycatcher. Thirty seven species; thirty-five peculiar. two common with other countries.

12. Lanius, butcher-bird. Nineteen species; sixteen peculiar, three in common with other countries.

13. Sparactes. One species, in common with other countries.

14. Parus, titmouse. Five species; four peculiar, one in common with other countries.

15. Alauda, lark. Seven species, and all of them peculiar to Africa.

16. Emberiza, bunting. Six species; four peculiar, two common with other countries.

17. Fringilla, finch. Sixty-seven species; fifty-three peculiar, ten in common with other countries.

18. Colius. Six species, all peculiar.

19. Phytotoma. One species, and that peculiar.

20. Buceros, hornbill. Four species; three peculiar, one in common with other countries.

21. Corvus, crow. Nine species; six peculiar, and three in common with other countries.

22. Coracias, roller. Thirteen species; nine peculiar, and four in common with other countries.

23. Gracula. Two species, which are peculiar.

24. Hirundo, swallow. Seven species; five peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

25. Caprimulgus, goatsucker. Four species; two peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

III.—*Raptatores.*

1. Strix, owl. Seven species; two peculiar, three in common with other countries.

2. Falco. Thirty-three species; twenty-six peculiar, and six in common with other countries.

3. Gypogeranus. One species, which occurs in other countries.

4. Gypaëtus. Two species, one peculiar, one in common with other countries.

5. Vultur. Three species; one peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

IV.—*Rasores.*

1. Numida, Guinea-fowl. Three species, all of which are peculiar to Africa.

2. Tetrao, grouse. Five species; four peculiar, and one in common with other countries.

3. Perdix, partridge. Fourteen species; eight peculiar, and six in common with other countries.

4. Ortygis. Six species; four peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

5. Columba, pigeon. Sixteen species; fifteen peculiar, and one in common with other countries.

6. Didus. Only one species, and that peculiar to Africa.

V.—*Cursores.*

1. Struthio, ostrich. One species, which is peculiar to Africa and Asia.

2. Otis, bustard. Six species; five peculiar, and one in common with other countries.

3. Charadrius, plover. Thirteen species; ten peculiar, and three in common with other countries.

4. Himantopus. One species, which occurs also in other countries.

VI.—*Grallatores.*

1. Glareola. One species, which occurs also in other countries.

2. Grus, crane. Four species; two peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

3. Ciconia, stork. Four species; two peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

4. Ardea, heron. Four species; two peculiar, and two in common with other countries.

5. Scopus. One species, which is peculiar to Africa.

6. Ibis. Six species; five peculiar, and one in common with other countries.

7. Numenius. Four species, all of which are peculiar to Africa.

8. Scolopax. Three species, which occur also in other countries.

9. Tringa. One species, found also in other countries.

10. Parra. One species, peculiar.

4. Rallus, rail. Seven species; six peculiar, and one in common with other countries.

5. Crex. Six species; three peculiar, and three in common with other countries.

6. Fulica. One species, which occurs also in other countries.

7. Platalea. One species, which occurs also in other countries.

8. Phænicopterus. One species, which also occurs in other countries.

VIII.—*Natatores.*

1. Sterna, tern. Seven species; two peculiar, and five in common with other countries.

2. Larus, gull. Two species, neither of which are peculiar to Africa.

3. Lestris. Two species, neither of which are peculiar to Africa.

4. Procellaria, petrel. Six species; but none of them are peculiar to Africa.

5. Dromedea, albatross. Two species; but neither of them peculiar to Africa.

6. Anas, duck. Ten species; five peculiar, and five in common with other countries.

7. Anser, goose. Six species; three peculiar, and three in common with other countries.

8. Pelicanus, pelican. Two species; one peculiar, and one in common with other countries.

9. Halieus. Six species; three peculiar, and three in common with other countries.

10. Dysporus. One species, which is peculiar to Africa.

Phaethon. Two species, neither of which are peculiar to Africa.

12. Plotus. Two species, which are peculiar to Africa.

13. Colymbus. One species, which occurs also in other countries.

14. Aptenodytes, penguin. One species, which is peculiar to Africa.

III.—Amphibious Animals.

Reptiles.

Of the tortoise tribe, the most frequent species in that named Tyrsé (Trionyx Ægyptiacus, *Geoff.*) which is about three feet long, green spotted with white, and is singularly useful in Egypt by devouring the young crocodiles the moment they are hatched.

The common crocodile, or the crocodile of the Nile has been long celebrated. It was formerly abundant in Lower Egypt, but at present it is principally met with in Upper Egypt. It is very abundant in all the rivers of Guinea, and also in the Senegal. The monitor of the Nile or Ouaran, the Lacerta Nilotica of Linnæus, a species of lizard three feet long, was much venerated by the ancient Egyptians, because it devours the eggs of the crocodile. In Congo, there is another monitor lizard, six feet long, and which is useful to the inhabitants by devouring vermin of different kinds; and the terrestrial monitor of Egypt, the *ouran el hard*, which is common in the deserts that bound Egypt, is the terrestrial crocodile of Herodotus, and the true *scinque* of the ancients. The common chameleon, so famous on account of the power it possesses of changing its colour, is a

native of Egypt and Barbary; and other species of the same genus are met with in Senegal, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

Serpents.

The great boa (boa constrictor, *Lin.*) is by some naturalists said to be a native of Africa, but more accurate observers are opinion, that no species of the boa tribe occur in the old world. The large serpents of Africa belong to the Python tribe. Jugglers in Egypt train the *haje* (coluber haje, *Lin.*) to perform a variety of motions, called by them dancing, as the Hindoos practice with the cobra de capello, (coluber naja, *Lin.*) in India. The haje erects itself when we approach to it; hence, the ancient Egyptians fancied that it guarded the fields it inhabited. They adopted it as the divine emblem of protection, and we observe it sculptured on the portals of their temples. It appears also to be the serpent described by the ancients under the name *aspic.*

IV.—*Insects.*

Africa affords great variety and abundance of insects, which are not less remarkable for the beauty of their colours, and the brilliancy of their lustre, than for the remarkable forms, and adaptations of their various parts. Some species we find very widely distributed, and occupying many different

situations; others are much more limited, both in their geographical and physical distribution. In the vegetable kingdom, we observe the same species under different latitudes, exhibiting different intensities, and even tints of colour. The same is the case with insects. Even the same kind of colour changes according to the situation, becoming deeper and paler, and more or less metallic or silky. But the habits, manners, and uses of this wonderful class of animals are those that most powerfully arrest the attention of the general observer. We shall now therefore notice a few species in these respects, it not being our intention to enter particularly into the history of African insects.

The migratory locust (gryllus migratorius, *Lin.*) is the most formidable insect met with in Africa. Its incalculable numbers, and extraordinary voracity, have, in all ages, caused it to be considered as one of the most calamitous visitants of the districts where it appears. Whole provinces are ravaged and destroyed by them; wherever their myriads spread, the verdure of the country disappears; trees and plants are stripped of their leaves, and reduced to their naked boughs and stems; and every thing green is as completely destroyed as if the country had been exposed to the ravages of fire. When these clouds of locusts take their flight, the heavens are literally darkened by them. The celebrated traveller Barrow gives a very striking pic-

ture of their numbers and ravages in Southern Africa. He says, that, in the part of the country where he then was, for an area of nearly 2000 square miles, the whole surface of the ground might literally be said to be covered with them. The water of a very wide river was scarcely visible, on account of the dead insects that floated on the surface, drowned in the attempt to come at the reeds that grew in it. They had devoured every blade of grass, and every green herb, except the reeds. The year 1797 was the third year of their continuance in Sneuwberg; and their increase, according to Mr Barrow's account, had far exceeded that of a geometrical progression, whose ratio is a million. For ten years preceding the present visit, this district was entirely free from them. Their former exit was somewhat singular. All the full grown insects were driven into the sea by a tempestuous north-west wind, and were afterwards cast upon the beach, where, it is said, they formed a bank three or four feet high, that extended a distance of nearly fifty English miles; and it is asserted, that when the mass became putrid, and the wind was at south-east, the stench was sensibly felt in several parts of Sneuwberg, distant fully a hundred and fifty miles.

The locust is an article of food in some districts in Africa. They are dressed in different ways; some pound and boil them with milk; others only

broil them on the coals. Mr Jackson says, that, when he was in Barbary in 1799, dishes of locusts were frequently served at the principal tables, and were esteemed a great delicacy.

The ant, named by Smeathman Termes bellicosus, is next to the locust, one of the most striking and formidable insects of the African continent. They build conical nests of loam and clay, from ten to twelve feet in height, which are divided internally into a variety of cells by thin partitions. These nests are often very numerous, and, when seen from a distance, appear like villages. * The cells of the king and queen ants are in the centre; and around these, in a determinate order, are series of cells for what are called labourers, or working insects; for soldiers, or those that perform no other labour than such as is necessary in the defence of the nests, and for the young and the ova; and, lastly, for stores or magazines. These animals destroy furniture, victuals, clothes, houses, and are able to cut through trunks of large trees in a few weeks. And, it is worthy of particular remark, that the abdomen of the queen ant, in the impregnated state, becomes of so enormous a size as to be two

* Jobson, in his history of Guinea, says that some of them are twenty feet high, and that he and his companions have often hidden themselves behind them, for the purpose of shooting deer and other wild animals.

thousand times the bulk of the rest of the body. It is then an oblong matrix full of ova. When these are perfectly formed, they begin to be protruded, and they come forth so quickly, that about sixty in a minute, or upwards of eighty thousand in twenty-four hours, are deposited.

Bruce, in his travels, describes a fly under the name Tsaltsalya, which appears to belong to the tabanus tribe. As soon as this pest appears, and their buzzing noise is heard, all the cattle forsake their food, and run wildly about the plain till they die, worn out with fatigue, terror, and hunger. Camels, and even elephants and rhinoceroses, though the two last coat themselves with a crust of mud, are attacked by this formidable insect. The pain its bite produces is so severe, that even the lion flies its approach.

Several species of bee, particularly that named apis fasciata, are extensively cultivated in many parts of Africa, and in some districts affords a particularly delicious honey; and the wax obtained from the hive forms an article of consequence in the trade of Africa.

The tarantula spider abounds in Barbary, where its bite is known to produce violent inflammation, and other disagreeable symptoms; the bite of the solpuga araneoides, a native of the Cape of Good Hope, is often fatal to man and beast; the common scorpion, so well known for the painful, and

sometimes mortal, wound it inflicts, is also a native of Africa; and the tendaraman, a species of spider, native of Morocco, is said by Mr Jackson to be so poisonous, that the person bitten survives but a few hours.

The great centipede (scolopendra morsitans, *Lin.*), a singularly unpleasant looking animal, which is poisonous, and produces wounds more painful than those of the scorpion, occurs abundantly in Africa.

V.—*Molluscous Animals.*

The coasts and seas of Africa afford many remarkable and striking species of this class. The shells of the African coasts, and rivers and lakes, by their forms, magnitudes, colours, and lustres, shew, in an interesting manner, how the formation of testaceous productions is connected with, and dependent in some measure on, geographical and physical distribution. The limited distribution of some species of molluscous animals, when contrasted with the extensive distribution of others, excites the attention of the naturalist, and leads him to institute interesting comparisons between the external and internal relations of tribes of animals, thus already so strikingly marked by nature in their geographical and physical distributions. But this is not the place for discussions on these highly curious subjects. We shall now notice a few of the species of this class.

Several species of sepia, or cuttle-fish, occur on the coasts of this continent. Some of them appear to be much larger than any of those met with on our coasts; and, if we can credit the accounts of travellers, some of the African species attain a colossal size.

The animals of the Argonaut tribe are nearly allied to the cuttle-fish. The famous nautilus of the ancients (the Argonauta argo, *Lin.*) which is supposed, in the early ages of the world, to have furnished the original idea of navigation, is found in the African seas, as in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. When it means to sail, this animal discharges a quantity of water from its shell, by which means it is rendered lighter than the surrounding medium, and of course rises to the surface. Here it extends two of its tentacula upwards. These are each furnished at their extremity with an oval membrane, which serves as a sail. The other six arms, or tentaculæ, hang over the sides of the shell, and are alleged to supply the place of oars and rudder. In some places, when the sea is not agitated by winds, great numbers of these curious animals may occasionally be seen sailing about in this manner; but as soon as the storm arises, or any thing disturbs them, they retract their tentacula, take in as much water as renders them heavier than that in which they swim, and sink to the bottom.

The Cyprea moneta, or money cowry, is a well know species of shell, employed by the natives in commerce, instead of money, about 2000 of them being esteemed equal in value to a rupee. It is a native of the Indian and Adriatic seas.

VI.—*Zoophytes.*

Zoophytes, although the lowest in the scale of animated beings, yet are highly interesting in the grand and sublime plan of creation. Their numbers exceed all calculation—the minuteness of many species is such, that they are not to be discriminated by the aid of our most powerful microscopes—they form one extremity of the zoological scale of magnitude, of which the other is occupied with the gigantic whale of the polar regions. The coral reefs, rocks, and islands of the tropical seas, are formed by very minute zoophytes. These reefs, in some regions of the earth, have been traced for a thousand miles in length, forty or fifty miles in breadth, and to depths sometimes unfathomable; yet they are the work of the most minute animals in the creation. We find, too, whole beds of rocks, even entire hills of very old formation, extending for hundreds of miles, characterized by the corals they contain, thus proving, that these animals also existed in countless numbers in a former condition of our earth, and that then, as at present, they assisted materially in adding to the

solid matter of the globe. Zoophytes, from the simplicity of their structure, and the geognostic relations of the rocks in which they are occasionally found, appear to have been called into existence before the other classes of animals.

Of this numerous class of animals, many genera occur on the coasts of Africa.

The Asterias, or star-fish, one of the most common of the zoophytic genera, is met with in many quarters. Of the species, one of the most beautiful and singular is that named Arborescent star-fish, (Asterias caput Medusæ, *Lin.*) which is occasionally taken off the Cape of Good Hope.

The celebrated Guinea-worm, (Filaria medinensic, *Gm.*) is very common in the warm regions of Africa, particularly Guinea. It insinuates itself under the skin of the human species, principally of the arms and legs, and there it attains the length of ten feet. It is said that it will remain there for several years without producing any disagreeable symptoms; but it sometimes occasions violent pains, and even convulsion, according to the part of the body it attacks. When it begins to protrude itself, great care must be employed in extracting it, as it is very apt to tear and leave a portion behind, which occasions violent and disagreeable symptoms. The operation of extraction is one of some time.

The Physalia, or Portuguese sailor, met with in

the tropical seas, and on the coasts of Africa, is often seen sailing on the surface of the ocean, by means of a particular organ which it uses as a sail, and hence is named by the French *le petite galère*, and by English mariners the *Portuguese sailor*.

The red coral, (Corallium rubrum, *Cuvier*,) so well known as an article of trade, is fished up on the coasts of Tunis, and in the waters of the Red Sea. It grows much slower than the madrepores, and never occurs in such masses. It is found at different depths, and it is remarked, that light exerts a powerful influence on its growth. Thus, at a depth of from three to ten fathoms, it grows one foot in eight years; at the depth of from ten to fifteen fathoms, the same length in ten years; at the depth of one hundred fathoms, same length in twenty-five or thirty years; and, at the depth of one hundred and fifty fathoms, the same length in forty years. It is also remarked, that in general the colour of the coral is deeper and richer in shallow than in very deep water. The coral of Barbary is not reckoned so fine as that of Italy or of France.

Many species of madrepores are found on the African coasts, from N. L. 30° to S. L. 30°; but it is not true, as some maintain, that the same species are distributed throughout the whole range of latitude just mentioned; on the contrary, each species has its determinate place of abode,

and of geographical distribution. The number of species increase as we advance towards the warmer regions; but to the north and the south of the latitudes just mentioned, they occur very rarely, and in but small quantity.

Gorgonias, or sea-fans, milleporcs, corallines, sertularias, cellularias, alcyoniums, and sponges, are, in general, found most abundantly in the waters of the ocean, in latitudes to the north and south of the continent of Africa. Yet, on the coast of Africa, as at Tunis, also in the Red Sea, the common officinal sponge, (spongia officinalis, *Lin.*) is fished up in considerable quantity, and forms a regular article of trade.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MORAL AND POLITICAL STATE OF AFRICA.

The population divided into Foreign and Native.—Moors.—Native Barbary Races.—Copts.—Abyssinians.—Native Africa.—Negroes.—Forms of Government.—Arts and Manufactures throughout Africa.—Commerce.—Caravans.—Slave Trade.—Tables illustrative of the Trade between Britain and Africa.

A CONTINENT, so extensive as that of Africa, must necessarily be inhabited by a great diversity of nations. There is, in fact, no part of the globe where the human race appears under such a variety of striking and peculiar forms. It may be divided, in regard to population, into two great portions, separated from each other on the west by the river-line of the Senegal and Niger; and on the east by the chain of the Mountains of the Moon. Africa, to the north of this line, is occupied, or at least ruled, by foreign races, who, taking advantage of their superiority in arts and arms, have occupied all the fertile districts, and driven the original population into the mountains, the deserts, and the

depths of the interior. On the south of this line is native Africa; the population of which, though originally, it is probable, derived also from Asia, has been so long established as to have lost all trace or record of that derivation; so that its aspect, manners, and institutions, appear now to be wholly indigenous. We shall consider separately these two divisions.

Among all the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, the *Moors* hold the most prominent place. The import of this name, however, though so widely diffused throughout Africa, is exceedingly vague. It is an European term, not recognized by themselves, and is compared to that of Romi or Latins, by which Europeans were wont to be designated in the east. During the middle ages, the professors of the Mahometan faith were divided into Turks and Moors; all who were not Turks were called Moors. At present the name of Moors seems chiefly confined to the inhabitants of the cities of Barbary. These, too, are not a single race, but aggregated from various sources. The ancient Mauritanian and Numidian population, the Vandalic invaders of Northern Africa, the Saracen conquerors (now the most numerous and prevailing), the Brebers, or inhabitants of the mountain districts; all these have contributed their share. The constituent parts, however, can now with difficulty be distinguished, so firmly have they been mould-

ed together by the influence of despotic sway, and by the minute severity of Mahometan institutions. All Mussulman towns exhibit, in fact, an extreme similarity. They all present the same exterior of gravity, stillness, and decorum; the same absence of all assemblages for purposes of gaiety or social intercourse; and the gloom which necessarily arises from the entire exclusion of female society. Habitual indolence is here interrupted by the mechanical round of religious ceremonies. A total want of all knowledge and curiosity respecting the arts and sciences, characterizes the whole of this once enlightened region. The outward aspect of the streets is as gloomy as that of the persons by whom they are tenanted. They are narrow and dusty; the walls of earth, and without windows; gloom and nakedness without; a barbarous splendour within. In general, the Moors, when compared with the Turks, appear an inferior race. They have the same rudeness and austerity; while piratical habits, and an unsettled government, render them more mean, turbulent, and treacherous.

Another class of inhabitants, which has never entered into any species of combination with the general mass, consists of the Jews. These exist in great numbers through all the cities of Barbary, where they preserve entire their national peculiarities. They are viewed, consequently, as an outcast class; are the objects of universal hatred, contempt,

and derision, and may be insulted and injured by any one with impunity. The immense profits, however, which they make, by monopolizing all the money transactions, which they alone are qualified to conduct, induces them to remain and to endure this oppression.

Such are the inhabitants of the towns of Barbary. The country districts are occupied by the Arabs, a name not perhaps confined to the original conquerors of this region, but applied to all who follow the same rude, simple, and migratory life. They dwell in *douars*, or moveable villages, consisting of a number of tents woven of camels' hair and the fibres of the palm tree. These are arranged in circles; the interior of which forms at night a place of shelter for the cattle. Having exhausted the territory in which the douar is situated, they remove with their families and all their cattle to another; the women and children being conveyed on the backs of the camels. The Arabs are of a deep brown or copper colour, which they endeavour to embellish with puncturing and tattowing. The females, when young, are handsome, but soon become flabby and overgrown. The internal government of these communities is administered by a Sheik and Emirs, who generally own the supremacy of the Moorish sovereign, and pay a regular tribute; but on all occasions of anarchy or weakness, take the opportunity of acting for themselves, and giving a loose to their predatory habits. All

the Arabs are attached, with bigotted zeal, to the Mussulman tenets.

These, which form the mass of the population of Barbary, are all aboriginal races. The mountains and deserts to the south harbour a number of tribes, whose native valour and inaccessible abodes have enabled them to preserve their distinct character and original institutions. The Brebes or Brebers occupy the larger portion of the chain of the Atlas. The Erriſi, who inhabit the mountains between Algiers and Morocco, and the Shelluhs, who occupy the southern part of the latter empire, appear to be merely branches of the same race. It reappears in Nubia, where it borders on Egypt, and where the Barabras, or Berberins seem merely a branch of the Brebers. To these we may add the Tibbo and the Tuarick, who inhabit so large a portion of the African desert. The radical identity of all these tribes seems established by Adelung, * from the use of merely different dialects of the same language, doubtless one of the most ancient in existence. The little that is known of the Tibbo and Tuarick will be found in our analysis of the journal of Horneman. The Brebers are a brave and hardy people. Their villages occupy the declivities and the deep valleys of the Atlas. They exhibit the only example to be found in Bar-

* Mithridates, oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde, B. III. Th. I.

bary of the republican form of government, as they have assemblies of the people, and elect their own chiefs. They pay a nominal, but very imperfect and precarious obedience to the sovereign of Morocco, and the other Moorish princes in whose dominions their mountains are situated. They are skilful in the use of fire-arms, and employ themselves much in firing at a mark. These exercises render them formidable to the armies of Morocco, who, in their frequent rebellions, have often found the contest unequal. The most powerful and the fiercest of these tribes is the Errifi. The eye of an Errif has become proverbial for its keen and piercing expression. The Shelluhs, on the other hand, are less robust in their form, milder in their manners, and more civilized. When offended, however, they cherish a resentment equally deadly, nor is it safe to pass through their country without having secured the protection of one of their chiefs.

Most of the inhabitants of Egypt are foreigners, who have not become in any degree naturalized to its climate or soil. This celebrated country presents only one native race, which is that of the Copts, or descendants of the most ancient inhabitants of Egypt. They are a people of mixed origin. The blood of the ancient Egyptians is adulterated by the confused mixture of the Persian, Grecian, Roman, and Arabian races; and the motley offspring of these dissimilar tribes have ra-

ther inherited the vices than the virtues of their ancestors. Distinguished from the Arabs and the Turks by the profession of Christianity, and from the Christians, by their obstinate adherence to the heresy of Eutychius, they have been persecuted and despised by Christians and Mahometans, and this very contempt has tended to deteriorate their national character. Various tribes have preserved their characteristic tenets and customs, in defiance of contempt and persecution, but none of them have been able to preserve, in this forlorn situation, the honour and dignity of the human character. The distinguishing features of the Copts are a dusky yellow complexion, unlike that of the Grecian or Arabian tribes, the hair and eyes of a dark colour, the lips thick, the features puffed, and the nose rather elevated than flat, and sometimes even aquiline. The similitude of the modern Copt to the ancient Egyptian, in the more characteristic features, and in the colour of the skin, is evinced, not only by ancient paintings and statues, but also by the appearances still observable in the mummies of Egypt, the bodies of an ancient generation of men, who have been raised from their sepulchres to demonstrate the origin of their descendants. The characteristic features of every race of men, by whatever causes they are produced, are difficult to be erased; and the features of the Copts, which have

not been obliterated by the mixture of so many different races of men since the reign of the ancient Egyptian kings, exhibit an astonishing proof of this singular fact. When, however, we turn our attention from the features to the minds of this race, we are mortified to discover few indications of that profound intelligence which marked the wisdom of the Egyptians, or of that brilliant genius which characterized the Greeks, from whom the most considerable mixture of the Coptic blood is derived. Instructed for the most part to read and write, and possessing a species of hereditary knowledge, acquired from tradition, of the extent and value of the cultivated lands in the various districts of Egypt, they have become the depositaries of the public registers, and have almost monopolized those occupations which require a superficial degree of learning. From this class of Egyptians are selected the secretaries, the intendants, and the collectors of government. Melancholic in their temperament, and fond of tranquillity, they distinguish themselves more in situations which require assiduity and attention, than in those which demand exertion and activity. Minute and laborious in their habits, they often amass large fortunes by indefatigable patience, and they generally use them without ostentation. With such a temperament and with such habits, they are addicted to gross sensuality, and fond of the exhilaration of

spirituous liquors; but avarice is the predominant disease of the race, and among the lower orders, to use the expression of Vansleb, "there are many "who for a meidin would kill their own father." *

The Coptic females are generally elegant in form, and interesting in feature; but their chief beauty, according to Vansleb, consists in their large, black, and expressive eyes. Since an early period of history, the Coptic race have been more numerous in the Said or Upper Egypt, than in the Delta, which has always been more accessible to the irruptions of strangers. Several families still reside in the Delta, but the mass of their numbers inhabit the country above Cairo. At the period of the Arabic invasion under Amrou, their numbers were estimated at six hundred thousand; but since that time their numbers have greatly decreased, and melted away amid the influx of strangers.

The great empire of Abyssinia appears, from the features of its inhabitants, to have been peopled from Arabia, but at so early a period, that the population has become almost native. Bruce seems to have traced very clearly many points of resemblance between their manners and those of the Jews, during the existence of the latter as an independent people. The Arabs represent the age of the patriarchs; the Abyssinians appear to re-

* Vansleb's Travels in Egypt, London, 1678, p. 26.

present that of ancient Asia, at a period when the states were grown more powerful and corrupted. All the "corners" of Abyssinia are filled with native tribes, characterized by the negro complexion and features, and some of which, particularly the Shankala, or Shangalla, exist still in the rudest form of the savage state. In this quarter, an advance has taken place of the native tribes, particularly of the Galla, who have now obtained possession of many of the finest provinces of the kingdom.

In the great empires of Bornou and Cashna, with their tributaries and dependencies of Bergoo, Begherme, Wangara, &c. a mass of native population, distinguished by the negro features and complexion, is ruled by Musulman chiefs and monarchs. These states were subjected during the first era of Saracen power, and they have ever since continued subject to this foreign race. Their interior organization is very imperfectly known. Native rudeness and simplicity in the mass of the nation seems combined with the display of pomp and pageantry, in the sovereign and his retainers. There does not appear, since the time of Edrisi, to have been any extension of Musulman influence in this part of Africa. The example of Tombuctoo might even lead us to infer a tendency in the native tribes to resume the ground which they had formerly lost.

When we pass to the south of the central chain of rivers, we find all Africa filled with a population entirely native. Among the tribes belonging to the Negro race, a few are found who have been converted to the Mahometan faith. This new profession, however, is always qualified with a large mixture of their ancient superstitions. In particular, it is never accompanied with those recluse and austere habits, which form the essence, as it were, of a genuine Musulman. Improvidence, gentleness, and the *abandon* of thoughtless gaiety, appear to compose the leading features in the Negro character. In a fertile soil, which supplies the necessaries of life with little labour; with few natural wants, and strangers to artificial ones, they devote themselves wholly to pleasure. Music and dancing are indulged in with passion throughout all native Africa. From the period of sunset, says Golberry, "all Africa dances." Polygamy is still more characteristic of Pagan than of Mahometan Africa; but it is not accompanied with that jealous and immuring system which characterizes the Moors. In most parts of Africa, according to the best informed travellers, the sex enjoy nearly the same degree of liberty as in Europe, without in general abusing it. That exemption from labour, indeed, which is enjoyed by the inmates of the Moorish harams, is quite unknown here; all the laborious tasks are devolved upon the females, as upon slaves.

Each, however, has a house, that is, a small cottage, of her own; and all which it contains, being the fruit of her industry, is considered as her property. The negroes appear to entertain some vague ideas of the principles of natural religion; but in general, their sole reliance is placed upon charms or fetiches, the use of inanimate and insignificant objects, as a panoply against all the evils to which human nature is liable. An impression so deeply rooted in the human mind as that of supernatural agency, joined to the ignorance which prevails in this state of society, leaves open a wide field to imposture. Numerous, accordingly, in all these countries, are those who, by a pretence to superhuman powers, maintain an influence, and extort ample gifts from their unenlightened countrymen. Magic and *feticherie* in many countries are viewed as secrets of state, and the main instruments for holding the people in subjection.

Although the character and state of society now sketched be very general among the negro tribes, it cannot, I apprehend, be supposed to arise from any peculiarity of their race, but merely from the state of knowledge, government, facility of subsistence, and other causes, which act on the moral nature of man. Divisions of them are found in various parts of the continent, which present an entirely different aspect. The semi-Mahometan tribes, the Jalofs, Foulhas, and Houssanians, ap-

pear to display a superiority in external figure, as well as a character more energetic and intelligent. Other tribes display not the smallest vestige of that gentleness, which forms the usual characteristic of the Negro race. Admitting the picture which has been drawn of the Giagas, the Gallas, and the Dahomeys, to be deformed by some features of exaggeration, still it seems impossible to doubt, that, in rudeness and ferocity, they somewhat surpass the most savage tribes in any other quarter of the globe. The similarity, therefore, observable among the great mass of the Negro population, appears to be rather owing to their being placed in the same stage of civilization, and the same external circumstances of soil and climate, than to any original character stamped upon the race.

As we proceed to the southward, the Negro complexion fades gradually into the same brown or copper colour, which distinguishes the inhabitants of Northern Africa. The manners and institutions, however, of these southern tribes, materially differ from those on the opposite side of the continent. The Boshuanas, the Caffres, and the Hottentots, form the leading divisions among the inhabitants of this part of Africa. Upon the subject of these tribes, there seems nothing to add to what has already been observed under the head of Travels in Southern Africa. *

* Book II. chap. v.

In the political state of Africa, much variety is observable. The profession of Islamism, established over all the northern parts of the continent, is scarcely compatible with any regular and legitimate freedom. The power of the sovereign is restrained by no fixed laws or institutions; but it is rendered extremely precarious by the turbulent habits of the people, and the absence of all regard to hereditary succession. A long reign, and a natural death, are considered as singular phenomena in the history of a Barbary prince. The yoke of the Turks, however, has been entirely shaken off. In Morocco, and, to a certain extent, in Tripoli, the sovereign power is now in a great measure maintained by a military force composed of Negroes, brought as slaves from Soudan.

The native tribes, situated in the mountainous and desert tracts, exhibit some traces of republican institutions. Through the great kingdoms in the interior of Eastern Africa, Bornou, Cassina, Sennaar, &c. there appears to exist an elective privilege, exercised by the chiefs. The sovereign must be of the royal family; but any member of it who is most popular, daring, or fortunate, mounts the vacant throne. Abyssinia is legally absolute; but the overgrown power of the chiefs and governors of provinces has reduced the royal authority almost to nothing. The king there is now a mere instrument in the hands of any one who has in his hands the chief military power.

Among the native powers who form the southern half of the African continent, the varieties in the forms of government are altogether infinite. They exhibit every gradation, from the pure republican form to the most complete despotism. Among the Mandings, and most of the other tribes on the Gambia and Senegal, the villages enjoy a species of mixed government, a large proportion of which is in the hands of the people. Most of the states on the Gold Coast have either a popular or aristocratic form of government. The great kingdoms in the interior, Ashantee, Aquamboe, and Dahomey, are subject to absolute monarchs. Whydah and Ardra, while they existed, were entirely despotic. Most of the petty states of Congo and Loango exhibit a combination of monarchical and aristocratic power, somewhat similar to that which, in Europe, was denominated the feudal system.

If we survey the state of science and of the arts, throughout this vast continent, we shall universally find them in a state either of infancy or of decrepitude. The latter occurs in Northern Africa, where faint vestiges only remain of the glory which once flowed so copiously from these sources. Yet this faint remnant of ancient knowledge forms the only source whence any knowledge of letters is diffused throughout Africa. The natives are entirely destitute of any written language, besides

that which they learn from the Moors; nor have they attempted to supply the want, even by the rudest hieroglyphical inventions. Abyssinia, which possesses also a literature of its own, derives it equally from a foreign source.

Architecture is one of the arts which, contributing in the most eminent degree to the comfort of the individual, and the splendour of the prince, ranks earliest among the pursuits of civilized nations. Assyria and Egypt produced edifices of stupendous magnitude, at a period when other arts and sciences were yet in their infancy. Architecture, as an art, may be said to be wholly unknown in native Africa. But for what has been practised in Egypt, and introduced elsewhere by foreigners, there would not perhaps be a stone edifice in the whole continent. The habitations consist merely of huts, with walls of earth, and a roof composed of leaves and twigs interwoven. If more accommodation is wanted, a number of huts is built, and a circular enclosure drawn round them. The palaces of African monarchs consist merely of a large collection of such cottages, forming a species of village, and enclosed with a mud wall. A residence composed of such slight materials is easily moved. A week builds an African city, an hour destroys it. Hence, the slightest motives of caprice, the dread of an enemy, or the exhaustion

of the surrounding country, are sufficient to transfer their largest towns from one spot to another.

Agriculture forms another art, by which the progress of any people in civilization may be very accurately measured. The natives of Africa, with very few exceptions, cultivate the ground to a certain extent. None of the native races, however, are acquainted with the plough, or any corresponding machine; nor have they skill sufficient to draw any services from the lower animals. The human hand, aided by some rude implements, forms the only power employed in cultivation. Generally speaking, only a certain spot around every town or village is cleared, the rest belongs to the domain of the forest. There are few districts which do not afford large tracts of unoccupied land, that are considered the property of the sovereign or community, and are readily granted to those who will undertake the labour of clearing and cultivating them. These observations do not apply to the countries on the Mediterranean, nor even to Abyssinia. There the processes of agriculture have survived, in some degree, the revolutions of empire; and though on a lower standard than in Europe, they are conducted nearly on the same principles.

An improved state of manufacturing industry is attached to a still more advanced stage; we cannot, therefore, expect to find it in Africa.

The Mediterranean states, indeed, retain still some branches in which they excel. Their leather, carpets, woollen caps, sashes, and silk handkerchiefs, are valued even in Europe. But native Africa, with the exception of leather, scarcely produces a manufacture which can become an object of export. Those carried on for internal consumption are also limited. The smith, who furnishes not only implements to the cultivator, but arms to the warrior, and to the chiefs and the fair sex their most valued ornaments, is a character held in universal veneration throughout the continent. He employs his very simple instruments with considerable ingenuity. Cotton cloths, of considerable beauty, are manufactured in various parts of central Africa. Leather also, as above noticed, is tanned and dyed in a manner which gives it a value even in the eyes of Europeans.

Commerce forms a more prominent feature. We do not, however, allude to foreign commerce, for which, with the exception of Egypt, no part of Africa was ever distinguished. The want of contiguity to the other continents, of inland seas and large archipelagos, formed, in fact, insurmountable obstacles to its establishment. But from the earliest ages, and much more since the entry of the Arabians, inland trade has been conducted on an immense scale. Through their exertions, the remotest coasts, and the inmost depths of the inte-

rior, have become pervious to it. Infinite facility has been afforded by the introduction of the camel, emphatically called the "ship of the desert;" an animal, whose patience of hunger and fatigue, whose capacity of conveying water, and whose foot smoothly gliding over the level sand, seems almost to point him out as an instrument formed by nature for effecting a communication across these immense wastes. The trade is carried on by merchants, trained from their infancy to the hardships and difficulties of these formidable journeys. To enliven the dreary route, as well as to afford mutual aid in danger, they almost always form themselves into large bodies called caravans, varying in number from two or three hundred to two thousand. The milk of the camel, with barley meal or Indian corn, and a few dates, forms the general food of the members of the caravan. The more opulent, however, have dried flesh and coffee for their private use. Water is carried in goat skins covered with tar, which, however, is often insufficient to prevent its evaporating. At each of the oases, or watered spots, which occur at distant intervals along the sandy waste, a stay of several days is made for refreshment, and for taking in a supply of water. The most dreadful calamity to which a caravan is liable, is when, from severe drought, one of these springs happens to be dried up. From this cause it is said, that, in 1798, a

caravan of two thousand men, with eighteen hundred camels, entirely perished. * Another source of destruction has been supposed to arise from the clouds of moving sand, which sweep occasionally over the surface of this immense plain. Mr Browne, however, is of opinion, that these are never of such density, as that a caravan can be buried beneath them; and that the appearance of such a catastrophe, is produced merely by the sand accumulating over the bodies of men and animals, which have perished from other causes. †

Cairo sends three caravans into the interior of Africa. One goes to Sennaar, sometimes by the route from Syene across the desert of Nubia to Gerri, which was traversed by Bruce, while at other times it strikes off at Monfalout, and passing by El-Wah, Sheb, and Selyme, rejoins the Nile at Moscho. Poncet accompanied this caravan. The second caravan goes to Darfûr, and follows the same route as that last mentioned as far as Selyme, when, instead of striking off to the Nile, it continues south, with a slight declination to the west. These two caravans travel only once in two or three years, and seldom exceed five hundred persons. The third caravan, from Cairo to Mourzouk, is on a greater scale, and performs, in gene-

* Jackson's Account of the Empire of Morocco, p. 242.

† Travels, Ch. IV.

ral, an annual journey. It forms the channel by which that city maintains its communications with all the countries, both of Western and Interior Africa. Siwah, the ancient Ammon, and Augila, form the principal stations upon this route, which occupies about forty days. From Fezzan, two great caravans direct their course to the southward, one to Bornou, and the other to Cashna. The former performs its journey in fifty days, through the deserts of Bilma and Tibesti; the latter requires sixty days, the route lying through Ganatt and Agades. A great body of the merchants who go to Cashna, continue their journey, cross the Niger on a raft at the ferry of Gongoo, and proceed along the mountains to the south as far as Ashantee. The last, and greatest caravan, is that from Morocco. It holds its rendezvous at Akka, or Tatta, and thence proceeds in a south-easterly direction to Tombuctoo. The journey occupies a hundred and twenty-nine days, more than half of which, however, is spent in rest. A circuitous route along the sea-coast is sometimes preferred.

In enumerating the objects of African traffic, it is lamentable that the first place must be held by one equally degrading and disgraceful to human nature,—*slaves*. Why Africa should, from the earliest ages, have been ransacked for this unfortunate class of beings, is not very easily determin-

ed. It is, however, satisfactory to think, that no farther efforts can now be necessary to rouse the public mind to a due sense of the enormity of this traffic. Splendid orations by the first parliamentary orators, the generous efforts of private philanthropists, and, perhaps more than all, a series of masterly discussions upon this subject, diffused through the universally circulated medium of the Edinburgh Review, have exhausted and rendered superfluous every argument which could be used on the subject. It only remains, therefore, to give a rapid sketch of slavery and the slave-trade, as it now exists throughout this continent.

Slavery is general throughout Africa; but the slavery of African to African is comparatively of a very mild character. The slave sits on the same mat with his master, and eats out of the same dish; he converses with him, in every respect, as an equal. The labour required in this state of society, is not such as to impose much either of suffering or exhaustion. The Asiatic and North African slave-trade is of a different character. It implies much misery; it severs the victim from his home, his country, and all the scenes with which he had been familiar. He is employed, however, as a domestic slave, sometimes as a guard and satellite; he is treated usually with indulgence, often with favour. Sometimes even the caprice of fortune raises him to the first rank under a des-

potic sovereign, to whom servile instruments are always agreeable. The other forms, therefore, have nothing to equal the horrors of West India slavery, where the only object is, to extract from the victim the utmost possible amount of labour. The power of procuring an unlimited supply, removed every motive to good treatment, which could be derived from the necessity of keeping up their numbers. The abolition, therefore, of the trade by Britain, and, through the influence of its example, by America and France, has produced an immense amount of good. We have been assured, on good authority, that the treatment of slaves in the West India colonies has, since that era, been greatly ameliorated. It is true that a very great increase has taken place in the Spanish and Portuguese slave-trade, so that the whole annual amount is said not to be very materially diminished. This increase, however, would probably have taken place in any event. Some consolation may even be found in considering that the Spanish slave-code is conceived in a spirit of humanity, not observable in that of any other European nation. We may instance the enactment, by which two persons of different plantations marrying, are directed, by exchange, to be placed under the same master. The introduction even, by whatever means, of a new race to people the vast solitudes of Maranan and the La Plata,

may be viewed as in some respects not altogether adverse to the interests of society.

The number of slaves conveyed across the African desert have, on a rude calculation, been supposed to amount to 20,000; but I suspect this estimate to be much exaggerated. Of the European slave-trade, the following estimate was given in 1788 by Mr Norris:

Gambia, - -	700
Isles de Los, - -	1500
From Sierra Leone to Cape Mount,	2000
Cape Mount to Cape Palmas,	3000
Cape Palmas to Cape Appollonia,	1000
The Gold Coast, -	10,000
Quilta and Popoe, -	1000
Whydah, - - - -	4500
Porta Nova, Eppec, and Bidagry,	3500
Lagos and Benin; - - -	3500
Bonny and New Calabar, -	14,500
Old Calabar and Camaroons,	7000
Gabon and Cape Lopez, - -	500
Loanga, Malemba, and Cabenda,	13,500
Mayomba, Ambriz, and Missoula,	1000
Loango, St Paul's, and Benguela,	7000
	74,200

Of these the British purchased about	38,000
French, - -	20,000
Dutch, - -	4000
Danes, - -	2000
Portuguese, - -	10,000

Gold is an article which has always diffused splendour over African commerce. Under the head of Mineralogy, we have already enumerated the principal repositories of this precious metal. Wadstrom reckons the quantity exported from the Gold Goast, at the commencement of the present century, to be from two to three hundred thousand pounds. From Manding and Bambouk, at least an equal quantity may be supposed to be drawn. The gold of Wangara finds doubtless still its way to Egypt and Northern Africa; and a considerable quantity is exported from Mosambique. It is moreover employed profusely by the natives in rings, bracelets, and other ornaments; so that the whole produce can scarcely be estimated at less than two millions.

Ivory is another general staple of African export. The vast plains and forests, bordering on all the rivers of interior Africa, are covered with herds of elephants, of which the natives, with a view to the extraction of the teeth, are in continual pursuit. Elephants' teeth are brought by all the caravans across the desert, are carried down the

Senegal and Gambia, to the shore of the Gold Coast, to Congo, to Mosambique, and are exported from Abyssinia. Ornaments of ivory are also very generally worn by the natives.

Other important articles of African export are gums, particularly Gum Senegal, drawn from the part of the desert bordering upon that river, manufactured hides and skins, particularly goats' skins, dyed red and yellow, one of the few manufactures of Soudan; raw hides and skins, bees-wax, palm oil, ornamental and dye woods, particularly red, or camwood.

The following official tables exhibit a general view of the commerce of Africa from 1810 to 1815, inclusive: *

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* Report from Select Committee on papers relating to the African forts, printed 26th June 1816, p. 219.

IMPORTS into Great Britain, from the Coast of Africa.

Species of Merchandise.	1810.	1811.	1812.	1814.	1815.
Coffee - *C. qrs. lbs.*	166. 0. 12.	148. 3. 2.	46. 1. 10.	325. 0. 4.	390. 3. 27.
Elephants' Teeth *C. qrs. lbs.*	2,653. 2. 26.	1988. 0. 16.	1,784. 0. 10.	2,054. 1. 22.	2,513. 0. 20.
Feathers, Ostrich *Lbs. oz.*	1. 0.	1. 11.	5. 3.	8. 14.	11. 13.
Grains, Guinea - *Lbs.*	14,540.	33,042.	- -	2,376.	24,684.
- - - - of Paradise - *Lbs.*	- -	- -	- -	- -	109.
Gum, Animi - - *Lbs.*	- -	- -	- -	2,999.	- -
- - - Copal - - *Lbs.*	8,945.	5,580.	3,013.	9,262.	23,791.
- - - Senegal - *C. qrs. lbs.*	21,759. 3. 5.	16,604. 3. 0.	2,679. 2. 20.	9,857. 3. 18.	11,175. 2. 4.
Hides, Raw - - *No.*	21,016.	17,924.	14,466.	53,610.	54,002.
Ivory - - *Lbs.*	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,361.
Oil, Palm - *C. qrs. lbs.*	25,753. 2. 16.	23,537. 0. 7.	11,636. 2. 9.	19,343. 3. 8.	41,277. 3. 4.
Pepper, Guinea *Lbs.*	5,528.	11,837.	1,178.	13,171.	16,238.
Rice - - *C. qrs. lbs.*	109. 10.	3. 0. 16.	58. 0. 10.	720. 0. 20.	199. 0. 12.
Wax, Bees - *C. qrs. lbs.*	1748. 1. 26.	1,560. 1. 7.	1,446. 0. 13.	1,266. 2. 19.	403. 3. 12.
Wood, Camwood - *Tons. C. qrs. lbs.*	428. 19. 2. 2.	488. 8. 1. 8.	485. 7. 1. 14.	433. 8. 1. 8.	567. 18. 0. 22.
- - - - Ebony - *Tons. C. qrs. lbs.*	34. 19. 0. 14.	57. 8. 2. 22.	79. 8. 1. 1.	36. 0. 2. 27.	130. 14. 1. 12.
- - - - Redwood *Tons. C. qrs. lbs.*	651. 9. 0. 24.	1,093. 14. 3. 12.	1,580. 4. 1. 10.	1,566. 5. 3. 0.	2,090. 15. 3. 12.
Wool, Cotton - - *Lbs.*	10,213	- -	2,006.	- -	- -
Other Articles *Official value.*	L. 1229. 2. 4.	L. 715. 8. 3.	L. 226. 9. 1.	L. 360. 2. 8.	L. 529. 19. 8.

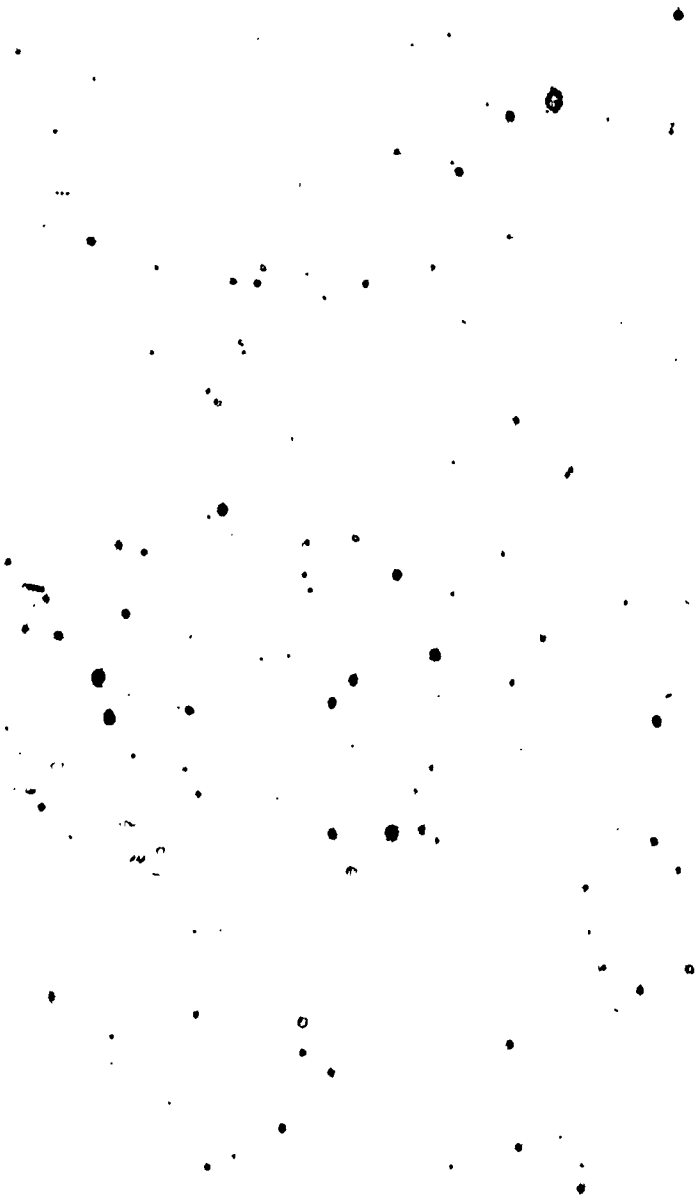
APPENDIX.

No. I.

Description of CENTRAL AFRICA, *by* EDRISI, *the most eminent of the Arabian Geographers. He flourished in the middle of the twelfth century.*

CLIMATE I.—PART I.—This climate begins on the west, from the Western Sea, which is called the Unknown Sea, or Sea of Darkness, beyond which what may be, geographers have no knowledge. There are along its coast six islands, called the Fortunate Islands, from which Ptolemy began his computation of longitude and latitude; and it is related, that in every one of the said islands is to be seen a pillar raised of stone, of the length of a hundred cubits, each pillar supporting a brazen image, with its hand lifted up and pointing backwards. These pillars are six, and one of them, as it is reported, is the idol Cades, which is to the west of Andalusia, and beyond these no one knows of any habitations.

In this part of the climate are the cities Ulil, Salla, Tocrur, Dau, Berissa, and Mura; all situated in the negroes country of Meczara. The island Ulil stands not far distant from the continent, and in it are found these famous salt pits, the only ones that we know of in all the country of the negroes, whence they are every where supplied with salt; for men coming to this island load their vessels with salt, and direct their course to the mouth of the Nile, which is at the distance of one day's



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sail; along the Nile they afterwards pass by Salla, Tocrur, Berissa, Ghana, with the other provinces of Vancara and Caugha, and all the country of the negroes, who for the most part inhabit along the Nile itself, or the rivers which fall into it. The rest of the countries lying distant from the Nile, on each side, are desert sands and solitary wastes, altogether uncultivated: There are indeed wells found in them, but often dry, and travellers find no water for two, four, five, six, and sometimes twelve days' journey. Of this nature is the road of Beneser, which is upon the way between Segelmessa and Ghana, where for fourteen days no water can be got; for which reason the caravans have it carried with them in all such roads on the backs of camels. There are throughout the countries of the blacks many such passes, the soil being mostly sand, which, tossed to and fro by the wind, makes it impracticable to find water. Those regions are also subject to excessive heat, so that the inhabitants of the first and second, and of some parts of the third climate, through the intense heat and burning of the sun, are of a black colour, and have their hair curling, contrary to what happens to those who live in the sixth and seventh climate. From the Isle of Ulil to the city of Salla are sixteen stations; that city is situated on the north side of the Nile; it is populous, and abounding with the best merchandises of the negroes, and the citizens are stout and courageous. This place is in the dominion of the king of Tocrur, who is a mighty prince, having many servants and soldiers of known fortitude, power, and justice, with a country well secured, and exposed to no fears: His chief seat and place of residence is the city Tocrur, standing on the south bank of the Nile, two days' journey from Salla, as well by the river as by land. The city Tocrur is larger than that of Salla, and more abounding with commerce: The remotest inhabitants of the west bring thither shells and brass, and carry from thence gold and bracelets for the legs: The diet at Salla

and Tocrur is a kind of large grained millet, fish, and preparation of milk; their cattle are chiefly camels and goats; the common people wear hair garments, and woollen caps on their heads; but the dress of the nobility is a cotton vest and a mantle. From the aforesaid cities to Segelmessa is a journey of forty days, at the rate of the caravan's travelling: The nearest place to this, within the limits of the desert of Lemptuna, is Azca, at the distance of twenty-five stations; and travellers carry water with them for two, four, five, and six days. In like manner from the Isle of Ulil to Segelmessa are nearly forty stations, computing by the caravan stages. Berissa lies eastward on the Nile at the distance of twelve stations from Tocrur; this is a little city, not walled, and seems like a populous village; but the citizens are merchants, trading to all parts, and subjects to the king of Tocrur. To the southward of Berissa, at the distance of ten days' march, lies the land of Lamlam, into which incursions are made by the inhabitants of Berissa, Salla, Tocrur, and Ghana; there they take numbers of captives, whom they carry away to their own countries, and dispose of to the merchants trading thither; these afterwards sell them into all parts of the world.

In the whole land of Lamlam there are but two small cities, or as it were villages, and those are Malel and Dau, situated at the distance of four days' journey from each other. Their inhabitants, as people of those parts relate, are Jews, and most of them unbelieving and ignorant. When any of all the inhabitants of the kingdom of Lamlam comes to have the use of his reason, he is burnt in the face and temples; this they do to distinguish each other. All their countries and dominions are near a certain river, flowing into the Nile. It is not known whether there is any inhabited place to the south of the kingdom of Lamlam. That kingdom joins on the west to Meczara, on the east to Vancara, on the north to Ghana, and on the south to the desert; and its people use a different language from those of Meczara and Ghana. Between Be-

rissa above-mentioned and Ghana, to the east, is a journey of twelve days: it lies in the midway which leads from thence to the cities Salla and Tocrur. Likewise from the city Berissa to Audeghest, is computed a distance of twelve days' journey; and Audeghest is on the north of Berissa.

In the negro countries no foreign fruit is seen besides dates, which are brought thither by the people of the desert of Vareclan from the kingdoms of Segelmessa or Zab. The Nile waters that country from east to west, and there on the banks of it grow Indian canes, ebony trees and box, wild vines and tamarisks, and very large woods of similar trees, where the herds lie down and lodge, and shelter themselves in the shades from the scorching heat. In these woods are found lions, camelopards, panthers, stags, debuth, *(hyænas,)* hares, white weasels, and porcupines. There are also in the Nile various kinds of fish, as well small as of a large size, on which most of the negroes feed; for they season with salt and lay up the fish they take, which very much excels in fatness and largeness. The arms of the people of those countries are bows and arrows, in which their force chiefly lies; they also make use of clubs, which, by a peculiar skill and wonderful art, they make of ebony; but they make the bows and arrows, also the bow-strings, of the reeds of Sciarac. The buildings of this people are of clay, and wide beams, for long ones are seldom found among them. Their ornaments are of latten or copper metal, grana, glass necklaces, and counterfeited jewels. Some of the aforesaid things, belonging to the customs, victuals, drink, clothing, and ornaments, are in use among the chief part of the negroes, in all their country, when it burns with the scorching heat. Those, however, who live in cities sow onions, gourds, and pompions, which grow there to a wonderful size. Corn and other sorts of grain is not so abundant among them, as the large grained millet, from which they make their drink. Their greatest dainties are fish and dried camels' flesh.

CLIMATE I.—PART II.—The cities contained in this second part of the first climate are Malel and Ghana, Tirca, Marasa, Secmara, Ghanara, Reghebil, and Semegda. From the city Malel to the great city Ghana, are about twelve stations, through sandy places and parched plains. In Ghana are two cities, situated on the two opposite shores of what they called a fresh water sea, and it is the largest, most populous, and wealthiest, in all the negro countries; and thither the rich merchants resort, not only from all the neighbouring regions, but also from the remotest parts of the west. Its inhabitants are Mussulmen, and the king of it (as it is reported) derives his pedigree from Saleh, the son of Abdalla, the son of Hasan, the son of Hosain, the son of Aali, the son of Abu-Taleb; and the king is absolute, although he pays obedience to Abbasæus, emperor of the Mussulmen. He hath a palace, which is a strong and well fortified structure, on the bank of the Nile; apartments adorned with various engravings, paintings, and glass windows. The aforesaid palace was built in the five hundred and tenth year of the Hegeira. His kingdom and dominions are bounded by the country of Vancara above-mentioned, very famous for the plenty and excellency of its gold mines. And from the confirmed reports of the people who come from the remote part of the west, it is certain that there is in the palace of the king an entire lump of gold, not cast, nor wrought by any instruments, but perfectly formed by the divine Providence only, of thirty pounds weight, which has been bored through, and fitted for a seat to the royal throne: And truly it is a most extraordinary thing, granted to no other but to him, by which he procures to himself a peculiar glory, in comparison of all the Negro kings. And that king, as is reported, is the most just of all men; no other king has so many captains, who every morning come to his house on horseback, and one of these carrying a drum beats it, nor is he silent till the king comes down to the palace gate; and when

all the captains meet him, he himself gets on horseback, and going before them, he passes through the streets and suburbs of the city. Then if any be oppressed or grieved with any trouble, he presents himself to the king, nor does he depart from his presence till his cause be decided. In the afternoons, when the heat of the sun permits, he gets again on horseback, and goes out guarded on all sides by his soldiers: Then no admittance nor access is open to any one. Therefore, by a certain and appointed custom, he rides out twice every day. And so much is remarkable of his justice. He generally wears a habit of satin, or a black mantle, after the Arabian manner, with drawers, and leathern sandals on his feet: He always goes on horseback. He has abundance of rich ornaments, and horses, with most sumptuous trappings, on solemn days, led before him. He has many troops who march each with their colours under his royal banner; elephants, camelopards, and various kinds of animals, which are found in the negro countries, precede him. In fine, these people have in the Nile long boats, in which they practise fishing and commerce between one city and the other. The apparel of the people of Ghana consists of cloths to cover their nakedness, and mantles. The country of Ghana is joined on the western side with the kingdom of Meczara; on the east with that of Vancara; on the north with the broadest desert, lying out between the countries of the blacks and Barbary; on the south it joins to the Infidels country, to wit, that of Lamlam, and other inhabitants.

From the city of Ghana to the confines of the country of Vancara is a journey of eight days; and Vancara is most famous for the excellency and plenty of gold. It is an island of three hundred miles in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, which the Nile surrounds all the year. But the month of August approaching, and the scorching heat increasing, and the Nile overflowing, that island, or, at least, the greater part of it, is covered over with water, and remains so as

long as the Nile continues to overflow. But when the waters decrease, and the Nile begins to retire into its proper channel, all, who are in the kingdom of the blacks, living in those islands, return to their habitation; and during the whole time that the Nile decreases, they slightly dig the earth, and not one of them is disappointed in his labour; but every one, by digging, finds more or less of gold, according to the gift of God. And after the Nile hath entirely returned to its former bounds, they sell what they have found, and trade among themselves; indeed, the greater part of the gold is bought by the merchants of Vareclan, and by the remotest western merchants, and they carrying it into their countries, strike and coin it into pieces of money; with which they carry on their trade. This happens every year.

Next to the cities of the country of Vancara lies the great and populous city Tirca, distant from Ghana six days' journey; the road lies along the banks of the Nile. From Tirca to the city Marasa is reckoned six days; and from this to the country of Secmara is six days' journey. From that to the city Semegda is eight days' journey. This is a beautiful and agreeable city, situated on the shore of a fresh water sea, and distant from the city Reghebil nine days. Also from the city Secmara to the city of Reghebil, towards the south, is a journey of six days. The city Reghebil lies also on the shore of a fresh water sea, and is of a beautiful form and magnitude, situated under a mountain, which overhangs it on the south side. Between the city Reghebil, towards the west, and the city Ghanara, there is a distance of eleven days. The city Ghanara is on the bank of the Nile, enclosed with a strong wall, and inhabited by a numerous and robust people. Also from this city to that of Ghana is a journey of eleven days, where water is very scarce. All the countries just mentioned are under the dominion of the king of Ghana.

CLIMATE I.—PART III.—The most famous cities which are contained in this third part of the first climate are Kaugha and Kucu, Tamalma, Zaghara, Mathan, Angimi, Nuabia, and Tagua. The city Kaugha is on the north bank of the fresh water, from which its inhabitants draw to drink. This city is subject to the empire of Vancara; nevertheless, some of the negroes reckon it under the dominion of Kanem. It is a populous city, without walls, famous for business and useful arts for the advantage of its people. The women of this city are so endued with the magic art, that witchcraft is in a peculiar manner attributed to them; they are said to be very skilful, and their charms effectual. From Kaugha to Semegonda, towards the west, is ten days' journey. Also from Kaugha to Ghana is near a month and half's journey. From Kaugha to Damocla is reckoned a month's journey. Also from that to Sabia is almost a month. Again, from Kaugha to the city Kucu is twenty days' journey, towards the north, at the rate of the camels' travelling. The city Kucu is famous among the negroes for magnitude; it is situated on the bank of a river, which flowing from the north part, washes it, and affords drink to the inhabitants; and although many negroes relate that this city Kucu is situated on the bank of the Nile, others place it near a river flowing into the Nile. It is, however, I apprehend, the true opinion, that that river glides along, till it passes for many days beyond Kucu, and then pours itself out into the desert, through sands and plains, in the same manner the river Euphrates doth in Mesopotamia.

Besides, the king of Kucu is absolute, dependant on no one; he has much attendance, and the greatest empire, soldiers, and captains, armour, and beautiful furniture. The people ride on horses and camels; they are of a martial disposition, and frequently invade the neighbouring nations. With respect to the clothing of this country, the common people cover their nakedness with the skins of beasts, but the merchants

clothe themselves with vests and tunics, wear caps on their heads, and adorn themselves with gold. The governors and nobility are dressed in satin, the merchants visit, and are conversant with them, and they exchange goods by way of truck or barter. A wood grows in this country, which is called serpentine-wood; it is said to be of that nature, that, if it be put to a serpent's den, immediately the serpent comes out of it. And also, he who wears this wood, can take in his hand a serpent without fear; but rather, upon touching them, he shall seem to feel in him a certain courage. However, the truth of this fact is only supported by the reports of the remote nations of the west; and it is probable, that they who hold this wood, or wear it about their necks, have not been near any serpent to try. This wood is like pyrethrum or bartram, is of a twisted grain, and of a black colour. . . . . .

The city Kuca is distant from the city Ghana a month and half's journey; from the city Tamalma, towards the east, fourteen days. That is a small city, without walls, frequented by people from the country of Kouar. From Tamalma to the city Mathan, from the country of Kanem, are twelve days' journey: This also is a small city, and none of the usual arts are practised in it, very little merchandise, and the people have camels and goats. From the city Mathan to the city Angimi is reckoned eight days' journey, and this also belongs to the province of Kanem; it is very small, not inhabited by much people, and those of a mean spirit: They are adjoining to Nuba on the east, and distant from the Nile three days' journey, and they have no water but from wells. From Angimi to the city Zaghara is six days' journey: Zaghara has many towns, and populous; and round about it live a certain people, like those of Zaghara, who hire camels of the citizens; and they exercise some trade in merchandise of little value, and have some arts among them. These likewise drink well water, and eat large grained millet, and dry flesh of camels; also fish

mingled with myrrh, and milk meats, with which they greatly abound. They cover themselves over with skins, and are the swiftest in running of all the negroes. From the city Zaghara to Mathan is eight days' journey, and the emperor and prince reside there, whose soldiers, as they are for the most part naked, are archers. From this city Mathan to the city Tagua are thirteen days' journey, and this is the metropolis of the kingdom of the infidels of Tagua, observing no religion. The country of these is bordering to that of Nuba, and to them belongs the little city Semna. And some who have travelled over the cities of Kouar report, that the chief of Jalac, who has his government from the king of Nuba, went into the city Semna, burnt and utterly destroyed it, and dispersed its inhabitants into different parts, and that this was lately ruined. From the city Tagua to this same are six days' journey. And from the city Tagua to the city Nuabia, from whence the kingdom of Nuba has its name, and from thence the Nubitæ, are eighteen days' journey.

CLIMATE I.—PART IV.—In this fourth part of the first climate is contained the kingdom of Nubia, part of Ethiopia, and the rest of the north of Tagua, and the inward part of Vahat. The most famous places and chief cities of Nubia are Cusa, Ghalva, Dancala, Jalac, and Sula; but in Ethiopia, Marcata and Nagiagha. In fine, in the country of the inner Vahat and upper part of Egypt, are the cities Asuan, Ancava, and Redini.

In this part is seen the separating of the two Niles, viz. of the Nile of Egypt, which flowing from south to north, divides our country; on each shore of which are situated the greatest part of the cities of Egypt; some others there are in the islands. The other part of the Nile flows from the east to the utmost bounds of the west: and upon that branch of the Nile lie all, or at least the most celebrated kingdoms of the negroes.

No. II.

DESCRIPTION OF CENTRAL AFRICA BY IBN-AL-VARDI.

(Flourished about 1340, *according to D'Herbelot.)*

Maghrara, a country in the territory of the Soudans, or of the Blacks, of which the principal city bears the name of Oulili, situated on the shore of the sea; there are salt pits, and a great trade in salt, which is carried into the other countries of the Blacks.

Sala, a great city, situated on the Nile, where is a great concourse of people; its inhabitants are brave.

Tekrour, a great city, situated to the south-west of the Nile, where there are mines of gold; all the rest of the country of Maghrara is composed of deserts, where no one passes, because there is neither water nor pasture. There is also mention made of a city called Lamlam, which is inland, and where gold is found.

Ouancara,* another country situated to the east of Maghrara; it is large, and there are many cities, among others, one which bears the same name. It is the country of gold and aromatics, situated on the shore of the great *Banr*, (sea, lake, or river,) in the form of an isle or peninsula. Its length is 300 miles, and its breadth 150; the great sea surrounds it on three sides, and the Nile, when it overflows, covers the greater part of the country. When it has retired, the inhabitants search for the gold and collect it, which renders them very rich. The king of the country has a particular canton, into which none enter except those who go to collect it. This gold is carried to Segelmessa, where it is made into money, a commerce which greatly enriches the inhabitants of that city.

Ghainara, a city situated on the bank of the Nile, surrounded by a ditch filled with water; its inhabitants are brave, and

* Wangara.

make incursions into the country of Lamlam, and there carry off men whom they sell to foreigners.

Karkar,* a great country, containing many kingdoms, which bear the name of their capitals. The city of Karkar is situated on a river which comes from the north, and loses itself in the sands of the desert. These people are black, very numerous; they wear ornaments of gold, and of skins well prepared. The king is very powerful, and puts great armies on foot; their country borders on that of the mines of gold; the earth is covered with them. When the merchants go thither, they draw a line; on one side the inhabitants place their gold, and on the other the merchants place what they wish to exchange; both parties withdraw, and do not return till next morning; then if they are content with the exchange they carry it away; but if they delay, "les habitans y mettent le feu, reprennent "leur or, et massacrent ceux qui se revoltent contre eux." † In this country is found a wood called serpent-wood, because it has the property of so far soothing these animals, that they may be taken fearlessly in the hand.

Ghana, a country situated to the north of Maghrara. The city, which bears the same name, is one of the largest in the country of the blacks; it is divided into two parts, situated on the opposite banks of the Nile. All the merchants of the other countries come thither for gold, which is found in the earth; those of Segelmessa go in twelve days through deserts where there is no water; they bring figs, salt, copper, *ouda*, and carry back gold only. The inhabitants have boats on the Nile; the king has numerous armies; many neighbouring kings are subject to him; his palace is upon the Nile, and you see there a piece of native gold as large as a rock. This prince is said to be a Musulman.

* Probably the Kuku of Edrisi.

† I have given here the words of M. de Guignes's translation, which do not seem very intelligible.

Konem, a large country situated along the Nile; its inhabitants are almost all Musulmen, of the sect of the Imam Malik.

No. III.

DESCRIPTION OF CENTRAL AFRICA BY BAKUI, (about 1400.)

Belad al Tibri.—Country of Tibr.

THE country of Tibr, that is to say, of pure gold, is a part of that of the Soudans, or of the blacks, in the south of Africa. The heat is so extraordinary, that, during the day, the inhabitants remain in caves under the earth. You there see the gold come out of the sand, as elsewhere the plants from the ground. These blacks live on dorra and on beans, and clothe themselves in the skins of animals, particularly of tygers. From Segelmessa to this country they reckon three months' journey; the merchants who go there suffer much from the heat; they carry salt, senoubar-wood, bracelets, rings, and necklaces of copper; they pass along barren deserts, where there are some holes in which bad water is found. When these merchants have come to a certain place, they beat with a drum to announce their arrival, and when they are assured that they have been heard, they place their goods on the ground, in little separate heaps, and retire; then the blacks come, place beside each heap the gold which they have, and return; the merchants come, take the gold, and beat the drum to announce their departure. No one has seen any of these inhabitants.

Belad al Soudan, or Country of the Blacks.

This country extends on the north to that of the Berbers, on the south to deserts, on the east to Ethiopia, and on the

west to the Ocean sea. It is burned by the sun, which fall on it perpendicularly, and its inhabitants are naked; some are Musulmen, the others infidels. Among them are found gold, rhinoceroses, elephants, giraffes, and large trees, on which they place their cottages, and shut up there what they have, because on the ground all would be spoiled and corrupted.

Takrour, or Takdour, (Tocrur.)

A city of the Soudans, or blacks; it is large, and without walls. Its inhabitants are, some Musulmen, and others infidels; the former rule, and the king is a Musulman. They are naked, men and women; but the nobles among the Musulmans wear cloaks. The women of the infidels wear a piece of stuff attached to the girdle.

Ghana.

A great city in the southern part of Mogreb, or of Africa, near the country of Tibr, or of gold. There is much gold, because it is near the mines; most of the inhabitants are clothed in the skins of tigers.

No. IV.

DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA, BY SCHEABEDDIN. (ABOUT 1400.)

THE isle of Mogreb (Africa) is in the midst of the seas, which water it on all sides. To the east it is bounded by the sea of Kolzom, (Red Sea,) to the south and west by the ocean, of which God only knows the extent and limits; to the north it has for limits the sea of Kharz, which is that by which the Franks came into the holy land by landing on the coast of Syria. In the midst of the isle of Mogreb are the deserts of the Negroes, which separate the country of the Negroes from that of the Berbers. In this isle is also the source of that great

river, which has not its equal upon the earth; it comes from the Mountain of the Moon, which lies beyond the equator. Many sources come from this mountain, and unite in a great lake. From this lake comes the Nile, the greatest and most beautiful of the rivers of all the earth. Many rivers, derived from this great river, water Nubia and the country of Djenawa. It is very remarkable, that all the other rivers have their direction to the east, the west, and the south, and that the Nile alone flows to the north. This river cuts horizontally the equator, traverses Abyssinia, the country of Coucou, comes to Syene, cuts Egypt throughout its whole length, and throws itself into the sea between Tunis and Damietta. The branch which passes through Djenawa does not flow to the sea, but only to the end of the inhabited part of the land of Ghana.

No V.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GOLD TRADE OF TOMBUCTOO AND MELLI. FROM THE ITALIAN OF CADAMOSTO. (1507.)

Beyond Hoden, more than six days' journey inland, is a place called Tegazza, where there is quarried an immense quantity of rock salt, and every year large caravans of camels, composed of Arabs and Azanaghis, carry it to Tombuctoo, and go thence to Melli, a kingdom of the negroes, where having come, the said salt is disposed of in eight days at the rate of from two to three hundred mitigalli (minkallis) the load, according to its size: a mitigal is worth a ducat, or thereabouts; then they return home with their gold. In that kingdom of Melli the heat is very great, and the food is very hurtful to quadrupeds, so that in the greater part of those that go with

the caravans, out of a hundred there do not return twenty-five. In the said country they have no quadrupeds, because they all die; and likewise many of the foresaid Arabs and Azanaghi are killed in the same place, and die; and that from the great heat. They say, from Tegazza to Tombuctoo are about forty days' journey on horseback, and from Tombuctoo to Melli thirty. I asked then what the merchants of Melli did with that salt. They answered, that a small quantity of it is consumed in their country, because, from being near to the equinoxial, where the days and nights are equal, they are extremely hot at certain times of the year, when their blood putrifies so, that if it were not for that salt they would die; but they take a little bit of the said salt, and dissolve it in a cup with a little water, and drink it every day, with which they say that they preserve their health; and what remains of the said salt is broken into pieces of such size that a man can carry it upon his back, and is carried to a great distance. The said salt is carried to Melli by the foresaid camels in large pieces hollowed from the mine, each camel carrying two pieces. At Tombuctoo the negroes break it into more pieces, so that each man carries a piece, and thus they form a great army of men on foot, who carry it a great way, and in this way they carry it to a great water, which they could not say if it was salt or fresh, so that I could not know if it was a river or the sea; but I hold it to be a river, because if it was the sea, there would be no need of salt. Having reached this water, they observe the following method:—All those who have the salt make piles of it in a row, each marking his own, and having made the said piles, they all turn back; then comes another generation of negroes, who do not wish to let themselves be seen or spoken to. They come with large barks that appear to issue from certain islands, and land, and having seen the salt, place a quantity of gold opposite to each pile, and then return, leaving the gold and the salt; and when they are gone, the salt negroes come,

and if the quantity of gold pleases them, take the gold and leave the salt; and in this manner they make their trade without seeing each other, by a long and ancient custom: and though it appears a hard thing to believe, I certify having had this information from many merchants, Arabs, and Azanaghi, and likewise from persons worthy of credit.

No. VI.

LIST OF IMPORTANT BOOKS RELATING TO AFRICA.

THERE are few ancient works relating exclusively to Africa. The following are the principal sources from which a knowledge of its ancient state may be drawn.

HERODOTUS, Historia.—Ægyptus et Ethiopia, lib. ii. et iii. princ.—Africa interior, lib. iv.

STRABO.—Rerum Geographic. lib. xvii. in toto, lib. i. et ii. partim.

DIODORUS SICULUS, Bibliotheca Historica—Ægyptus, lib. i. Æthiopia et Lybia, lib. iii.

PTOLEMÆUS.—Geographia, lib. iv.

PLINIUS.—Histor. Natur. lib. v. cap. 1-8.

MELA Pomp.—De situ Orbis, lib. iii. cap. 8, 9, 10.

HANNONIS, Periplus partium Lybicarum ultra columnas Herculis ap. Hudson. Geographi Græci Minores, tom. ii.

SCYLACIS Caryandrii Periplus. Ibid. p. 42-55.

ARRIANI Periplus Maris Erythræi. Ibid.

AGATHARCHIDES.—De Rubro Mari. Ibid.

Modern Illustrations of the Ancient Geography of Africa.

CAMPOMANES.—Antiguedad Maritima de Carthago, 8vo.—A very learned work, containing a long discussion on the Periplus of Hanno.

PARIS, Abbe.—"Que les Anciens ont fait le tour de l'Afrique." Academie des Inscriptions, vii. 79.

BOUGAINVILLE.—Memoire sur les Decouvertes faites le long des Cotes de l'Afrique, par Hannon. Ibid. xxvi. 10.

D'ANVILLE.—Memoire sur les rivieres dans l'interieur de l'Afrique. Ibid. xxvi. 64.

D'ANVILLE.—Dissertation sur les sources du Nil. xxvi. 46.

D'ORIGNY, M.—l'Egypte ancienne, ou memories historiques et critiques sur les objets les plus importans de l'histoire du grand empire des Egyptiens. Paris, 1762. 2 vols. in 12mo.

D'ANVILLE, Memoires sur l'Egypte ancienne et moderne, suivis d'une description du Golfe Arabique. Paris. Imp. royale, 1766. 4to. *Cartes.*

RENNELL, (Major.)—Geographical system of Herodotus explained and illustrated, 4to. London, 1796. This very learned and excellent work contains Dissertations on the circumnavigation of Africa, on the Periplus of Hanno, &c.

VINCENT, Dr.—On the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 2 vols. 4to, London. The first volume of this valuable treatise relates to the navigation along the African coast.

GOSSELIN, (Vincent.)—Recherches sur la Geographie des Anciens, 4 vols. 4to. Paris, V. Y. The two first volumes of this very profound and ingenious work relate to questions connected with the ancient Geography of Africa.

Works of the Arabian Geographers.

EDRISI, Africa.—Curavit Joannes Melchior Hartman, 8vo. Gottingen, 1796. The notes are very valuable, and include copious extracts from the other Arabian geographers. The arrangement, however, seems objectionable, as he breaks down that of the original author, to substitute another one of his own. For this reason, it may be necessary to join the following.

GEOGRAPHIA NUBIENSIS; id est, accuratissima totius orbis in septem Climata divisi Descriptio Recens ex Arabico in Latinum versa a Gabriele Sionita et Joanne Hesronita. Parisiis, 1619.—Contains the Arabic original, with a Latin translation. The term "Nubian Geography," is entirely gratuitous, and, as Hartman has shewn, adopted without any foundation.

ABULFEDÆ Africa, Arabicè, et Latiné, curante J. G. Eichhorn. Gottingen, 8vo. 1791. A Latin translation also in Busching's Magazin fur die neue Historie und Geographie, Tom. iv. et vi.

SCHRABEDDIN.—Excerpta Memoria dignissima ex historia universali.

IBN-AL-VARDI.—Unio miraculorum (Continet Geographiam, et Historiam Naturalem.)

JACUTI melius BAKUI.—Expositio rerum memoria dignarum et miraculorum omnipotentis.

The three last works have never been printed entire; but copious extracts are given by De Guignes, and Silvestre de Sacy, in "Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi." Tom. II. Paris, 1789.

ABULFEDAE Descriptio Ægypti, Arabice et Latiné: a Jo. Dav. Michaelis, 4to. Gottingen, 1776.

ABDOLLATIPHI, Compendium Rerum memorabilium Ægypti, Arabice et Latiné, ed. Jo. White, 8vo. Tubingen, 1789. An edition 4to. Oxford, 1800.

MURTADI.— L'Egypte, où il est traité des pyramides, du Nil, &c. Traduit par P. Vallier, 12mo. Paris, 1666.

Modern General Descriptions.

LEO AFRICANUS.—Africæ Descriptio, ix. libris absoluta, 12mo. Lugd. Batav. 1632 (Elzevir.) In Italian (Ramusio Navigazione, et Viaggi, Vol. i.) Translated into English by Pory, 1600, and inserted in Purchas, vol. ii. init. For Leo's character as a writer, see Introd. ch. 2. Hartman says, Libellus

est aureus; qua si caruissem, lumine quasi quam sæpissime caruissem.

Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde, escrite par Jean Leon African; plus cinq navigations au pays des Noirs. Lyon, Jean Temporal. 1556. fol.—La recueil est fort curieux, et contient, *outre* le description de Leon Africain, plusieurs autres traités historiques sur cette partie du monde. Du Fresnoy, meth. pour etud. l'hist. Tom. XIV. p. 132. edit. in 12mo.

Marmol,—Louis Carajeval, Descripcion General de Africa, 3 Tom. fol. Grenada, 1573-99. French translation by D' Ablancourt, 3 Tom. 4to. Paris, 1669.—Marmol did not visit any part of Africa except Morocco and the borders of the desert. His description, therefore, is chiefly compiled from Leo and the Portuguese navigators.

Dapper Ol.—Exact Description of the countries of Africa, Egypt, Barbary, &c. (in Dutch). Amsterdam, fol. 1668-70. A translation into French, fol. Amsterdam, 1686.—A good compilation, though now antiquated in most of its parts.

Ogilby, John.—Africa, being an accurate description of the regions of Egypt, Barbary, &c. London. fol. 1670. Little more than a translation from Dapper.

De La Croix, Sieur de—Relation universelle de l'Afrique, ancienne et moderne. 4 Tom. 12mo. Lyon, 1688, and 1713.

Bruns.—Neue systematische Erdbeschreibung von Africa (New Geographical Description of Africa), 6 vols. 8vo. Nuremberg, 1793-9.—This is reckoned the best general description extant.

MODERN VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

I.—*To the interior, Senegal, Gambia, &c.*

Cadamosto.—Alvysio da, Libro de la prima navigazione per Oceano, a la Terra de Negri de la Bassa Ethiopia, per com-

mandamento del Infanto Henrico de Porto Gallo. 4to. Vicenza, 1507.—Reprinted in Ramusio, vol. i.—French translation. 4to. 1508. Cadamosto was the first traveller who published a regular narrative, and it contains many curious particulars. See the preceding article of this appendix.

Jobson.—Golden Trade, or a discovery of the river Gambia and Golden trade of Ethiopians, 8vo. London, 1623. See Book I. ch. 3.

Razilly, (M. de) Voyages d'Afrique, ou sont contenus les navigations des François, entreprises en 1629 et 1630 soubs la conduite de, Paris, 1632. 12mo.

Jannequin.—Voyage de Lybie, 8vo. Paris, 1645. See Book I. ch. 2.

Lemaire.—Voyage aux isles Canaries, au Cap Vert, au Senegal, et a Gambie, in 1682. Paris, 1695. 8vo.

Labat.—Nouvelle relation de l'Afrique Occidentale. 5 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1728. Consists chiefly of the narrative of Brue's travels, drawn up from that traveller's notes.

Bluet.—Memoirs of Job-Ben-Solomon, high priest of Boonda, 8vo. 1734.

Moore, Travels in the inland parts of Africa, 4to. London, 1738. 8vo, 1742. See Book I. ch. 2.

Adanson, Histoire Naturelle du Senegal, avec la Relation abregée d'un voyage fait en ce pays, pendant les années 1749, 50, 51, 52, et 53. 4to. Paris, 1757. (Book I. ch. 2.)

Dumanet, Nouvelle histoire de l'Afrique Francaise, 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1767. A good description of the countries upon the Senegal.

Description de la Nigritie, par M. P. D. P. enriche des cartes. Paris, 1879, 8vo.

Saugnier, Relation de plusieurs voyages entrepris a la Cote d'Afrique. 8vo. Paris, 1791. (Book I. ch. 2.)

Durand, J. B. L., Voyage au Senegal. 4to. Paris, 1802. Contains some valuable information.

Brisson, Histoire de la naufrage et de la captivité de, avec la description des Deserts d'Afrique. 8vo. Geneve et Paris, 1789.—English translation, 8vo. 1790. See Book I. ch. 4.

Golberry, Fragmens d'un Voyage en Afrique, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris.

Proceedings of the Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa. 4to. London, 1790. Contains the information collected by Ledyard and Lucas. See Book I. ch. 5.

Proceedings, &c. 4to. London, 1792. Contains accounts from Major Houghton, and from an Arab of the name of Shabeni.

Proceedings, &c. 4to. London, 1798. Contains abstract of Park's travels, with Major Rennell's geographical illustrations.

Park, (Mungo) Travels through the interior parts of Africa. 4to. London, 1801. (ed. in 8vo.)

——— Second journey, London. 4to. 1814. (ed. in 8vo.)

Browne, Travels in Egypt and Syria, (and to Darfûr) 4to. London, 1799.

Hornemann, F. Journal of Travels from Egypt to Fezzan. 4to. 1803.

Proceedings of Association, 1804. (Information of Hagi, Mahommed, &c.)—1805. (Mr Nicholls.) All the proceedings of the Association, with the exception of Park's travels, are reprinted in 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1810.

Adams, (Robert) Narrative of Travels in the interior of Africa. 4to. London, 1816.

Riley, (James) Narrative by, 4to. London, 1817.

Congo.

Lopez, Relazione del reaume di Congo e delle vicini contrade, di Odoardo Lopez Portogheso, per Philippo Pigafetta, con carte geographiche, e designi varie de plante, d'animali, di vestimenti, &c. 4to. Rome, 1591. (See Book I. ch. 1.)

The Italian copy is very rare. There is a Latin translation, Frankfort, 1598, fol. which forms the first part of the voyages of De Bry.

BATTELL, (Andrew) Strange adventures, (in Purchas, Vol. II. liv. 7. (See Ibid.)

CARLI, Viaggio, de P. Michael Angiolo de Guattini, e del P. Dionigi Carli, nel regno del Congo. 12mo. Reggio, 1672. Bologna, 1678. Ibid.

CAVAZZI, (Anton.) Descrizione dei tre regni, cioé Congo, Matamba, Angola. fol. Bologna, 1687.

LABAT, Relation historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale, 5 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1732. This work contains a translation of that of Cavazzi, with an abstract of the memoirs of a number of Romish missionaries. (Ibid.)

MEROLLA, (Padre da Sorrento) Relazione fatta nel regno di Congo. Naples. 4to. 1692. Ibid. 8vo. 1726. (Ibid.)

PROYART, Abbe, Histoire de Loango, Cacongo, &c. 12mo. Paris, 1776.

DEGRANDPRE, Voyage a la Cote Occidentale d'Afrique, fait dans les années 1786 et 1787, 2 tom. 8vo. Paris, an. IX. 1801. See as above.

Abyssinia.

ALVAREZ.—Verdadeira Informacaon de Ethiopia, se contem todos os sitios dos terras, e dos trados e commercios dellas, fol. Lisbon, 1540.

——— Spanish translation, 4to. Antwerp, 1557, 8vo. 1588.

——— Italian translation in Ramusio, Navigazioni e Viaggi, Vol. I.

——— French translation, 12mo. 1588.

——— English translation in Purchas, Vol. II. (See book ii. ch. 1.)

URRETA, Fray Luis de, Historia ecclesiastica, politica,

natural y moral de les grandes reynos de la Etiopia. En Valentia, 1610. 4to.

Goez.—Damian de fide, religione, moribusque Ethiopium, 8vo. Louvain, 1540.—English translation in Boemus's Manners and Customs of all Nations, 4to. London, 1611.

——— Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Joannis, ad Emanuelem Lusitaniæ Regem in 1513, 12mo. Dordrecht, 1618.—These two works of Goez were drawn up from the information of Matthew, the Abyssinian ambassador.

Godigny, (Nicolai) Societatis Jesu, de Abyssinorum rebus atque Ethiopiæ patriarchis, Joanne Nunnio Barreto, et Andrea Oviedo, libri tres nunc primum in lucem editi, 8vo. Lyons, 1615.

Sandoval, il P. Alonzo de, Naturaleza, policia sagrada y profana, costumbres y ritas de todos Etiopes. Sevilla, 1627. 4to.

Histoire de ce qui s'est passé es royaumes de Ethiopie en 1626, et de la Chine en 1625, avec une relation du voyage fait a Tunquin. Paris, 1629. 8vo.

Tellez, et Almeida, Historia General de Ethiopia, fol. 1650. Another edition, Coimbra, 1660.—This work of Tellez was composed from the memoirs of various missionaries, transmitted to Portugal by Almeida, and is remarkably rare.

Lobo, (Hieronymo) Historia de Ethiopia, fol. Coimbra, 1559. A French translation by Legrand, with additions, and an excellent map by D'Anville, 4to. Paris, 1728. An English translation by Dr Johnson, 8vo.

Ludolphus, Historia Æthiopiæ, fol. Frankfort, 1681. An English translation. London, 1682.

——— Commentarius ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam, fol. Frankfort, 1681.

——— Appendix ad Historiam Æthiopicam, fol. Frankfort, 1693 et 1694.

These works of Ludolph, though they contain little original information, present a valuable summary of what was known relative to Abyssinia.

Wyche, Relation of the river Nile. 12mo. London, 1673.

Baratti, Travels in Abyssinia. 8vo. London, 1670.

Poncet, Relation du Voyage en Ethiopie in 1698, 1699, and 1700 (Lettres edifiantes 4eme Recueil). An English translation, London, 12mo. 1709. Pinkerton's Collection, Vol. XV. (See Book ii. ch. 1.)

Heyling, (Peter) Sonderbarer Lebenslauf und Reise nach Ethiopien durch J. T. Michaelis. 8vo. Halle, 1724.

Bruce, (James) Travels to discover the Source of the Nile. 5 vols. 4to. Edinburgh, 1788.—French translation, 6 vols. 4to. Paris, 1790 and 1791.—German translation. 5 vols. 8vo. Rinteln, 1791.—An octavo edition, by Dr Murray, in 7 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1805. Reprinted 1813.

Observations on Bruce's Travels by Wharton. London, 4to. 1799.

Observations on the authenticity of Travels by Bruce. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4to. 1800.

Valentia, (Lord) Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, Red Sea, Abyssinia, &c. 3 vols. 4to. London, 1809. (ed. 4 vols. 8vo.)

The second and third volumes consist in a great measure of Mr Salt's travels in Abyssinia.

Salt, (Henry) a Voyage to Abyssinia, &c. London, 4to. 1814.

Egypt.

Viagio da Venetia al Sancto Sepulchro et al Mote Synai piu copiosamente descritte de li altri cō disegni de paesi: citade: porti: et chiesi et li sancti loghi, &c. Stampato in Venetia. 1523. 8vo.—This traveller visits Cairo and Tunis; the book contains, among others, wood engravings

of the above mentioned cities, which have every appearance of being correct representations.

MARTYRE, (Pedro) Relazione delle cose notabili della provincia dell Egypto. 8vo. Venice, 1564.

GREAVE, (John) Description of the Pyramids of Egypt, (at the beginning of Thevenot's Collection).

WANSLEB, (G. M.) Relazione dello stato presente del' Egypto. 12mo. Paris, 1671.

WANSLEB, (P.) Relation d'un Voyage en Egypte. 12mo. Paris, 1678.

LUCAS, Troisième Voyage fait en 1714. 3 tom. 12mo. Rouen, 1719.

MAILLET, Description de l'Egypte composée sur ses Memoires. 4to. Paris, 1740. 2 vols. 12mo. Ib. 1741. An esteemed work.

POCOCKE, Description of the East and some other Countries. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1743. A very learned and valuable work. The first, relating to Egypt, is reprinted in 4to. London, 1748.

GRANGER, Relation du Voyage fait en Egypte en 1730. 12mo. Paris, 1745.

Description historique et geographique des pleines d'Heliopolis et de Memphis. Paris, 1755. 12mo. fig.

NORDEN, Travels in Egypt and Nubia. Copenhagen, 2 large vols. folio, 1755. English translation, 2 vols. folio, 1757. A French translation, with Notes, by M. Langles. 3 vols. 4to. 1795. Norden's is the first picturesque journey through Egypt, and much esteemed.

SAVARY.—Lettres sur l'Egypte. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1786. An English translation. 2 vols. 8vo. London. This work, which was at first extremely successful, is now regarded as of dubious authority.

VOLNEY.—Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte pendant les années 1783, 1784, et 1785. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1800.—An English translation. 2 vols. 8vo. London.—An excellent general description of Egypt.

SONNINI.—Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypte, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1799. English translations in 4to. and in 3 vols. 8vo. The former is the best.

ANTES.—Observations on the manners and customs of the Egyptians. 4to. London, 1804.

DENON.—Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypte. 2 vols. Gr. fol. 1802. An English translation by A. Aikin. 2 vols. 4to. 1802.

MAYER, (Luigi.)—Views in Egypt. Fol. London, 1802.

HAMILTON, Egyptiaca. 4to. London, 1809. Contains a very accurate and valuable description of the antiquities of Egypt.

Description de l'Egypte, première livraison. Fol. Paris, 1816.—A magnificent work, and containing a number of curious memoirs.

LEGH.—Travels above the cataracts of Egypt. 4to. London, 1816.

Barbary.

TORRES, Diego de, Relacion del origine y successo de los Tariffos, y del estado de los regnos de Fez, y Marroceros y Tarudente. 4to. Seville, 1586.

HOEDO, Francisco Diego de, Topographia y Historia general de Argel. Fol. Valladolid, 1612.

DAN, Pierre, Historie de Barbarie et de les Corsaires, d'Alger, de Tunis, de Salé, et de Tripoly. Paris, 1649. Folio.

ARANDA, Emanuel De, History of his captivity at Algiers, (in Spanish) 12mo. Hague, 1657.

HOGAN and ROBERT, Embassies to Marocco (Hackluyt's Collection, vol. ii.)

TASSY, Langier de, Histoire du Royaume d'Algier. 12mo. Amsterdam, 1725. Translation into English, under the title of "Complete History of the Piratical States of Barbary." 8vo; London, 1750. This work was re-translated into French as an original one; 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1737.

Brooks, (Francois) Navigation faite en Barbarie, traduit de l'Anglois. Utrecht. 1737. 8vo.

Frejus, (Roland.)—Relation d'un voyage fait en 1666 aux royaumes de Maroc et de Fez; 12mo, Paris, 1670. —An enlarged edition. 12mo, Paris, 1682.—An English translation, 8vo. London, 1771.

Addison, (Lancelot.)—West Barbary, with a short account of the revolutions of the kingdoms of Fez and Maroc. 8vo. Oxford, 1671.

Mouette.—Relation de la Captivite de, 12mo. Paris, 1683.

Puerto, Fray Francisco de San Juan de el, Mission historial de Marruecos. En Sevilla, 1708. Folio.

Voyage pour la redemption des captifs aux royaumes d'Alger, et de Tunis, fait en 1720, par les P. P. Franca Comelin; Philemon de la Motte, et Joseph Bernard. Paris, 1721. 12mo. fig.

Relation du voyage aux royaumes de Maroc et d'Alger, pendant les années 1723, 1724, et 1725; par les P. P. Jean de la Faye, Denis Mackar, &c. Paris, 1726. 12mo.

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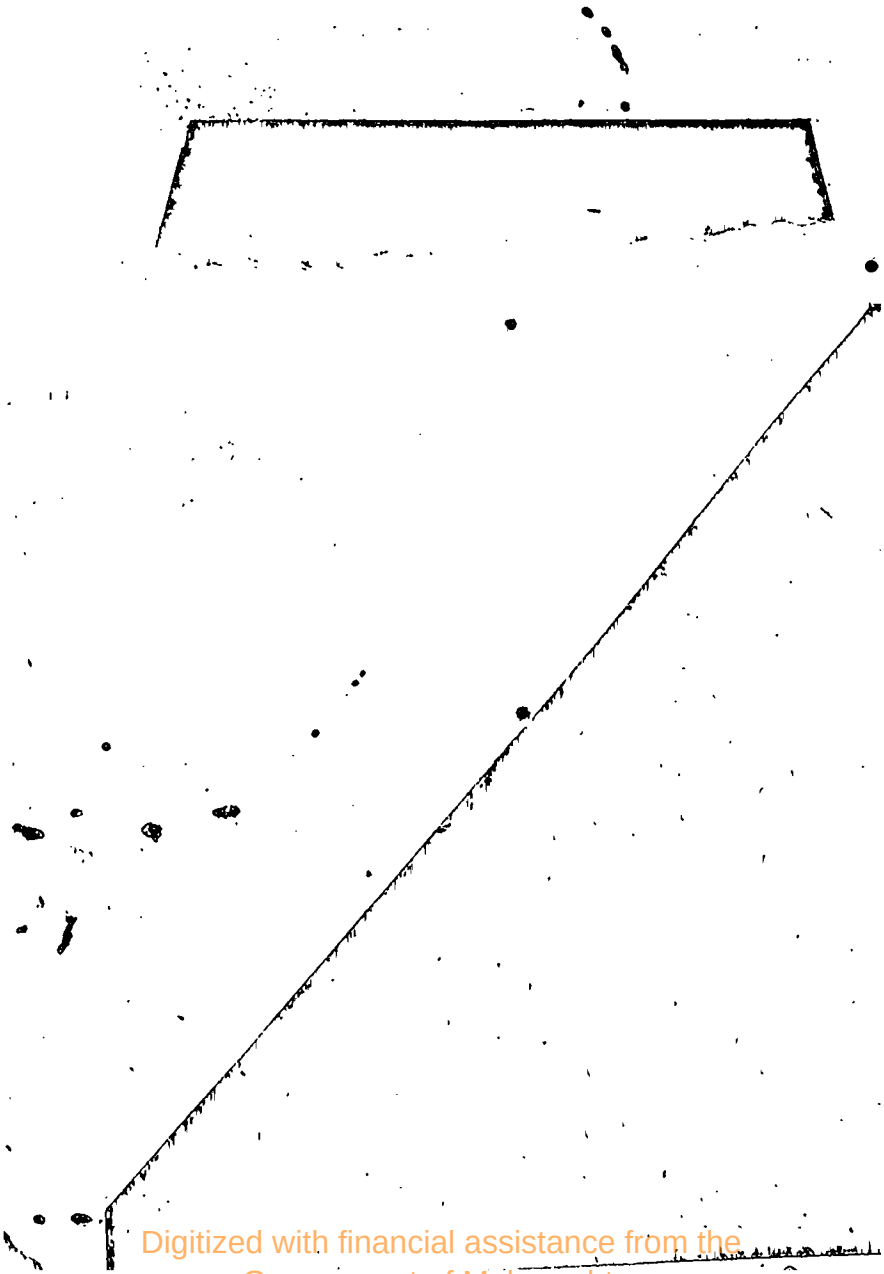

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